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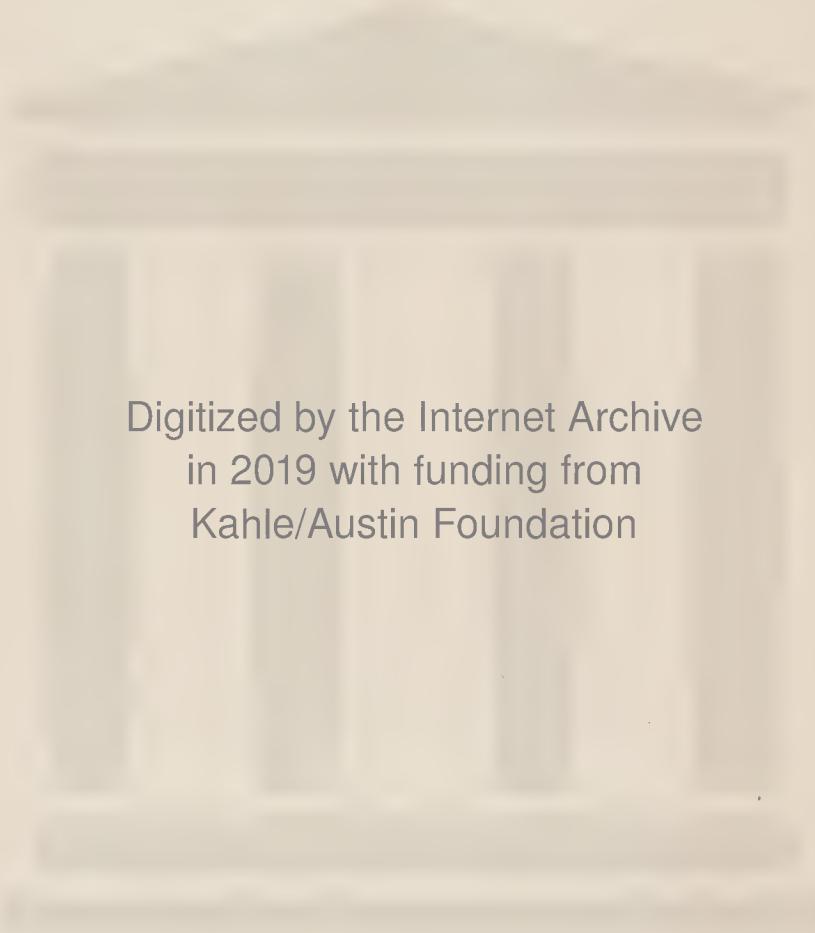


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THE
HISTORY OF CANADA.

BY
WILLIAM KINGSFORD.

VOL. I.
[1608-1682.]

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ROWSELL & HUTCHISON.

—
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CANADA UNDER FRENCH RULE.

Facturusne operæ pretium sim, si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui quum veterem tum vulgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid adlaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos credunt. Ut cunque erit, juvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse: et, si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro est, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me, qui nomini efficient meo, consoler.

LIVY I., 1.

I do not fully know, and if I did know I would scarcely dare to state, that I am about to fulfil a useful duty when I write the history of the Roman people from the origin of the City; since I observe that it is an old and a common practice for new writers to believe, that they will bring forward more certain facts, or that by a more careful style, they will surpass the ancient ruggedness of narrative. However this may be, it will be a satisfaction to me, that, according to my powers, I have been mindful of the memory of the exploits of the foremost people of the world. And if in so great a crowd of writers my reputation should remain in obscurity, I will find my consolation in the excellence and eminence of those who stand in the way of my name being known.

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BOOK I.

FROM THE FIRST KNOWN VOYAGES TO THE DEATH OF
CHAMPLAIN, 1635.

THE HISTORY OF CANADA

FROM THE EARLIEST DATE OF FRENCH RULE.

CHAPTER I.

It will be my endeavour, with what power I possess, to trace the history of British rule in Canada since its Conquest from the French, and to relate, to the best of my humble ability, the series of events which have led to the present Constitution under which the Dominion is governed. The task is not without difficulty. Most of us inherit a tone of thought which colours our opinions, and which creates and confirms our prejudices. Moreover, I cannot escape the unpleasant feeling of knowing that I must say much which will be antagonistic to that which to-day is believed by many. At the same time, I am sustained by the thought that there is but one mode of carrying forward a narrative ; whatever the immediate feeling to which it may give rise, it must be based on truth and justice.

I will make every effort to be fair and honest, and those with whom I may have the misfortune to differ will I hope recognise that I have consulted original authorities and that whatever opinions I express, are not hastily or groundlessly formed : but that on the contrary, I have warrant for the belief that they are fully sustained by evidence.

Before entering upon this duty it will be necessary to examine the history of the period during which Canada was under French domination. Without a knowledge of the events of that time, and of the occurrences which preceded and led up to the Conquest, it will be scarcely possible thoroughly to understand the difficult character of the duties entailed on the

first rulers of British America. Such a narrative of the facts is indispensable fully to appreciate the position which the Mother Country has occupied towards the Provinces. Indeed the examination of this portion of the history of the continent under many aspects, at this period, is imperatively called for. It is now recognised by students of history that many facts are assumed to be correctly established, and are repeated so as to become a portion of the national faith, which can be sustained by no evidence, as much of the authority adduced in their support must be rejected when its value is known. The first duty of the historian is sceptically to weigh facts, and to divest himself of all sentiment dictated by faith or nationality : otherwise he is nothing more than the mere partisan chronicler. So far as I am able, I will strive to be governed by this principle.

What is the etymology of the word Canada? In Cartier's first voyage it is not even mentioned, while Newfoundland was well known. The writer of the voyages of Cartier, whether himself or an unknown person, alludes to the several spots as recognized localities previously visited. Old voyagers had passed over the track, and there must ever be uncertainty with regard to the date when the Saint Lawrence was first ascended. Cartier is always spoken of as the discoverer of the Saint Lawrence. On the other hand, we have the tradition that for at least two centuries prior to his voyage the Newfoundland fisheries had been known to the mariners of Dieppe, St. Malo and La Rochelle, and doubtless to the fishermen of Devonshire, Cornwall and the Channel Islands. Cabot's voyage to Newfoundland was in 1497. It was at this date, the reign of Henry VII., that the first effort was made for the creation of an English navy. "The great Harry" was built in 1488. In the reign of Henry VIII. [1509-1547] the navy was formed, and at his death it consisted of seventy-one vessels. Previous to this period there had been no national ships. When necessity called for their employment, they were obtained from the several ports, or from the Low Countries. There had been a hardy race of seamen for centuries in the southern

ports of England, in Normandy and in Brittany. Cartier was from St. Malo, and was forty years old when he made his first voyage to Canada [1534]. He passed through the Straits of Belle-isle as a known track, for he there saw a fishing vessel, from La Rochelle, in search of the port of Brest, which remained with him for the night. He was struck by the sterility of the mainland, and it appeared to him that it must be the spot which God granted to Cain. He gave his own name to a port which few can recognize under its Indian form, Thecatica. Labrador was well known. The word is suggestive of the outrages which marked the course of the Spaniard on this continent. It is a corruption of *Laboratores terræ*, so called because in the year 1500^o Cortereal seized a cargo of Indians for slaves. Cartier coasted the western side of Newfoundland, he passed Bird Islands, and stayed a short time at Ile Brion, the name given by him, which it retains. Driven by contrary winds, he is said to have reached the Miramichi. He ascended the Bay of Chaleurs, so called by him from the excessive heat of July which he experienced. It was his theory that he could pass through these waters as by the Straits of Belle-isle. Coasting along, he met some Indians, two of whom he seized to take to France, and returning on his course he doubled Cape Gaspé. The westerly winds prevented further progress, and the crew became disheartened. A council was held, and it was resolved to return to France. It was August: taking this period of the year, the decision does not speak highly of Cartier's powers of endurance and tenacity of purpose. The term Canada is not mentioned in the account; it may be inferred that Cartier had not heard it. By what Cartier tells us, there is an indication that the land he had visited was known in France. Giving an account of the Indians whom he had met in Labrador, he says, "Since my return I have heard that this was not the spot they inhabited, but that they came from warmer countries to take the sea otter and other things for subsistence."

In 1535, he made his second voyage; the account of it is dedicated to the King. Cartier is careful to show his adher-

ence to the Court opinions of the day. Even at that early date the mistaken policy of the French ministers in abandoning the functions of government to become the propagators of religious opinions is apparent. Cartier set forth that one of his objects was to be of humble service in the increase of the Holy Faith, and to counterbalance the influence of wicked heretics and false legislators.

At the Island of Anticosti, Cartier was in the Saint Lawrence, described by him as the Grand River Hochelaga,* and mentioned by him as the water way of Canada ; the first mention of the name. Proceeding westwards he reached the Saguenay. The kidnapped Indians were with him, and he learned that he was in the Territory of the Saguenay ; that he would thence pass to that of Canada, and onwards to Hochelaga. It may be said that Cartier's second voyage establishes that Canada was the name given to the central portion of the territory between Montreal and Anticosti, viz., from the Ile aux Coudres eastward. Cartier proceeded as far as Montreal ; he returned to the neighbourhood of Quebec, passed a winter on the Saint Charles, and describes the events of his settlement there. L'Escarbot, who wrote three-quarters of a century afterwards, applied the word Canada to the whole country and several attempts have been made to find a fanciful etymology for the word. L'Escarbot himself was never in Canada ; he was at Port Royal [Annapolis], and he could have repeated only the traditions he heard. It must be conceded that we are in a better condition to judge the evidence on which he wrote than he was himself at that date.

At Hochelaga Cartier met the reception which in the first instance the European received from the savage until he was taught to be treacherous and revengeful. Cartier was fed and caressed, even looked upon as a God and asked to perform miracles in healing the sick. Cartier tells us that he mumbled the opening words of St. John's Gospel, as he says : "*In principio, etc.*" He learned that a moon distant there was a land producing cinnamon and cloves. Cartier did not apply this

* Grande fleuve de Hochelaga.

information to a country to the South. His theory was to follow the river westward. He adds, that without any question or sign being made, the Indians took the whistle of the Captain, which was of silver, and the handle of a dagger, brass, yellow as of gold at the side of one of the mariners, and pointing upwards by the river, stated that it came thence. It seems strange in modern times to read that at Hochelaga he speaks of returning to Canada, and this portion of his narrative has many such allusions. Cartier ascended the mountain and gave it its present name of Mont Royal. Both in Montreal and Quebec he speaks of the presence of melons and cucumbers :* neither are indigenous to Canada. Cartier cannot be supposed to have misrepresented what he saw, and the fact is important. They could only have been propagated by seed ; the inference follows by seed imported, and from Europe.

During the winter passed by Cartier near Quebec, he heard some wonderful stories from Donacona, chief of the tribe there, of a land of gold and rubies ; of white men dressed in cloth ; of men who lived without eating ; of a race having only one leg. So Cartier kidnapped him, for he himself was a lover of the marvellous. Cartier describes the Indians as smoking. The tradition is that tobacco was introduced into England by Drake and Raleigh. Drake was born in 1540 ; Raleigh in 1552. So Cartier gave an account of the practice of smoking before they were born, whether tobacco or the Indian weed, killikinik, is hard to say. Cartier returned to France in 1536. One reads his statements with the feeling that without assuming direct responsibility, he attributed the most favourable features to the country, in order to convey the idea that the dream of the age, the possession of gold and precious stones, would reward the search for them.

The last voyage of Cartier took place in 1541. The record is incomplete. We are told in the preamble that Francis I. personally discussed the question with Cartier, and conversed with the Indians brought to France. We may infer that it

* The wild training cucumber, the *Echinocystis labata* is found in this portion of the Dominion. The fruit, about two inches in length, is not edible.

was the intention to enter into a course of discovery and to establish a settlement on the banks of the river which Cartier had ascended. Roberval, a nobleman of Picardy, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, Cartier, Captain General and Master Pilot. Roberval could not accompany the expedition, so Cartier started with five vessels, leaving St. Malo in May. He anchored at Cap Rouge, nine miles above Quebec. Establishing himself at Cap Rouge, he retained three vessels and sent two back to France, and ascended the river. He proceeded as far as what is now named the Lachine Rapids, and he reports the existence of further rapids to the West. From what little is known to us of his operations we may infer that his mind was intently bent on the discovery of gold and precious stones. He cannot be blamed, if he knew as little of mineralogy as his contemporaries; and that he was unable to distinguish between iron pyrites and gold, cannot be made a matter of reproach to him. One point is plain, he had no idea where the true mines of Canada lie. The light which Roberval throws upon his conduct does not place it at an elevated standard. Roberval was unable to leave France until 1542. He started from La Rochelle on the 16th April. On the 7th June he arrived at the harbour of Newfoundland, where he was detained by contrary winds. While in this situation, he was surprised by the arrival of his Lieutenant, Cartier, whom he believed to be at Quebec. The account proceeds to say that Cartier, having paid his respects to his superior, told him that he had brought certain diamonds and a quantity of gold from mines. On the following Sunday they tried the gold and found it good. It was, nevertheless, but iron pyrites, and the so-called diamonds, quartz. Roberval ordered Cartier back to his post. The order was disregarded. Cartier secretly escaped the following night, without taking leave.*

And here ends Cartier's place in Canadian History.

De Roberval continued his voyage to Quebec. He com-

* Se sauvèrent secrètement de nous la nuit suivante et sans prendre aucun congé partirent.

pleted the fort at Cap Rouge, and wintered there, sending back two vessels to France. The record tells us that he was strict in the execution of the law,* punishing every one according to his offences. He hanged Michel Gaillon, who has thus obtained an unenviable pre-eminence in Canadian History; placed Jean de Nantes in irons and several were whipped, men and women. Who were the women? There is no record of their arrival. We leave the domain of history when we speculate on their presence. We are told that fifty of his people died from disease. If we enter into the realm of hypothesis we can explain their presence by further arrivals of which no mention is made. On the 5th June, 1543, after supper, Roberval went on board a vessel to proceed to the Province of Saguenay. Everybody was embarked except thirty persons left at Cap Rouge. At this point the relation stops.

No further record remains of this attempt at settlement. But the belief is general that the connection between France and Tadousac was maintained. A canoe communication thence to Quebec was always attainable. So, doubtless, in a few months those left behind found their way back to France. L'Escarbot tells us that the king Henry II. sent Cartier to bring Roberval home†; Le Clercq that Roberval lost his life in an endeavour to return to France; Thevet, who was the friend of Cartier and Roberval, that he was killed near the Eglise des Innocents in Paris.

We have arrived at the period of the religious wars in France, which so influenced the fortunes of Canada. The difficulties in one form or the other lasted for three-fourths of a century. Francis I. was not cruel, but, as was the policy of his day, he was indifferent to human suffering. The last twenty-five years of his reign were marked by persecution

* Il faisait bonne justice.

†Le Clercq distinctly says that Cartier deliberately abandoned Canada from the severity and unhealthy character of the climate. "Cartier n' ayant plus dessein de retourner davantage qu'il crut pour lors ne pouvoir jamais être habité tout à cause du froid excessif et de la saison d'hiver extraordinaire rigoureux qu'a causé des maladies qui l'avaient entièrement desolé."

which was continued to the accession of Henry IV. The ally of the Protestants of Germany, at war with the Pope and Charles V., corresponding with the leading Protestants of Europe, inviting Melancthon to visit him, and really having a respect for letters and a sympathy with art, the name of Francis I. is to be numbered among the persecutors of freedom of thought. The explanation may be given that he was swept onward by a power which he could not withstand, that of the church which had determined to extirpate heresy. It was in the reign of Francis that the expeditions of Cartier and Roberval took place. He died in 1547. There were no expeditions in the reign of Henry II. and Catherine de Medicis. The policy which that king inherited from his father enforcing the unity of faith led to the religious wars, and the war with Spain was an inherited misfortune. England, by the marriage of Mary with Philip II. was drawn into the contest ; to us it is of interest that Calais was taken by the first Duke of Guise in 1558. Whatever were the faults of the Tudors, they were thoroughly English. The saying of the Queen; that when she died Calais would be found written on her heart has come down to us. Pope Paul III. remarked that the loss of the French port was all the dowry which the English Queen would receive from the Spanish marriage.

The Protestants numbered one-fourth of the population, nevertheless their extirpation was resolved upon. On their part the resistance was most determined. The battles of Dreux, Jarnac and Moncontour followed in succession. Then came the massacre of Saint Bartholomew and perpetual persecution. There were at this period three parties in France : the party of the League, determined on the supremacy of the Pope and religious unity, even at the cost of making France subsidiary to Spain ; the zealous Protestants, who having received no toleration would give none ; the middle party of Catholics and Protestants, who before everything else were Frenchmen whose strongest feeling was for their country. Each of these parties in their turn gave an impress to French rule in Canada. Not indeed with their full strength, but that

the generation which came into being with the accession of Henry IV. were affected by the events and traditions of the contest is indisputable and the fact is noticeable in our annals.

The reign of Henry III., his assassination, followed by the accession of Henry IV., with the battles of Coutras, Arcques and Ivry, led to the King's undisputed possession of the French throne. It was his administration which restored peace. His abjuration, almost a political necessity if peace were to be continued, was accompanied by the Edict of Nantes, which secured eighty-seven years of peace. Its Revocation was the commencement of national disgrace, suffering and humiliation, to be followed by a military despotism, which, whatever its dubious splendour, was to cast a gloom over the whole continent, and to create for France a condition of convulsion and disquiet, still to be traced.

From the reign of Henry IV. dates all that is great in modern France. Nevertheless, both Richelieu and Mazarin have been represented as having mainly in view the re-establishment of mediæval Roman Catholicism. Two historical facts emphatically contradict this view. It was Richelieu who negotiated the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria, a policy quite at variance with that of the party who clustered round Mary of Medicis. Such as these were anxious to sustain Jesuit pretension, then gaining strength, and which encouraged the fanciful views of religious duty, and the extravagance of belief directly to influence many characters who figure in early Canadian history. But their doctrines with regard to political power were never received as national faith. The Jesuit Sanctaril's pamphlet, maintaining that the Pope, for cause, by his absolute power, could depose kings, was burnt by order of the Parliament of Paris. The marriage of Charles took place at Paris, 11th May, 1625, by proxy. In the first instance, Charles failed to gain the affections of the Queen. She herself appears to have left France with a true sense of her position, in which the influence of Richelieu can be traced. A giddy lady of the Court ventured to ask her how she could marry a Huguenot. She replied :

"My father was a Huguenot." Charles treated her with little courtesy. On her arrival, to her great displeasure, he immediately dismissed all her French servants. Then came the ill-omened expedition against Ré, undertaken in 1626 to satisfy the vanity of Buckingham; nominally to assist the Protestants of La Rochelle, but only disgracefully to abandon them in the Peace of 1629, made without any allusion to their future. The pretensions of Charles to interfere for the protection of the Protestants undoubtedly influenced Richelieu, more especially in connection with the conduct of the Huguenots themselves, who misunderstood their position, and overestimated their strength to become aggressive. They became an element in the State which he did not desire to see firmly established in Canada, and so strengthened the views of those who mainly looked upon the possession of New France as a field for the extension of Roman Catholicism. The master feeling of Richelieu's policy was to make France strong and united. He felt that to obtain this end the power of Austria should be restrained and the pretensions of Spain curbed. It was with this end in view he entered into an alliance with Gustavus Adolphus. It was with this feeling, that when, in 1629, the Pope desired to take possession of Val Tellina, extending from Lake Como to the Tyrol, Richelieu replied, that the precedent and consequence of it would be perilous to kings in whose dominions it hath pleased God to permit diversity of religion. Richelieu's maxim is well known. The Church of France in the Kingdom, not the Kingdom in the Church. It was the utterance of Loyseau and gained the great Cardinal's approval.

Mazarin's policy is shown in the treaty with Cromwell 23rd March, 1657, by which 6000 troops were to be furnished to France against Spain in the Low Countries, with a fleet to victual them. Louis XIV., then nineteen, received them at Boulogne. It was before Dunkirk that Turenne's army with this accession of force defeated the Spaniards. They were a picked body of 6000 Englishmen who had served in the civil wars, and were in the highest state of discipline. In the

desperate duty assigned to them on that eventful day, every officer but two, was killed or wounded. Turenne before the action sent an officer to Lockhart of Lee, an eminent Scotch diplomatist who was in command, to explain his motive for commencing the attack. "Very good," was the reply, "I leave the matter to M. de Turenne: after the battle he shall give me his reasons if he see fit." The following year the Peace of Pyrenees was signed.*

These facts shew clearly that the extreme religious opinions which were attempted to be forced upon Canada in the second stage of settlement were in no way a part of the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin. They were a reflex of the tone of thought of a class in France, which, when the great statesmen had passed away, came into prominence as accepting the doctrine that the will of one man was to be held to be dominant, before which all that France possessed of intellect and genius was to be subservient.

* I relate this story on the authority of Guizot. Scotch writers do not mention it. Lockhart was one of the foremost men of the time. In early life he had attached himself to the royal cause, and was taken prisoner at the battle of Preston. After a year in confinement he obtained his liberty by the payment of one thousand pounds. He was grossly insulted by Charles II. and resented this treatment; and he took no part in the attempt which ended with the battle of Worcester. He returned to Scotland, and was about seeking his fortunes in France, when he attracted the notice of Cromwell. The Protector, impressed with his ability, in 1652, appointed him one of the Commissioners for the Administration of Justice in Scotland. Two years later he married Cromwell's niece, Robina Sewster. He was afterwards a member of the Scottish Privy Council, and was sent as Ambassador to France. In March, 1656, he negotiated a treaty of alliance with Mazarin for the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands. From the circumstance of his having compelled Mazarin to fulfil this provision of the treaty, the story is doubted: it has been considered improbable that Lockhart would have taken so humble a position in the operations of the war. As I read the anecdote, I cannot accept this view. Guizot, in relating it, speaks of the good sense shewn by Lockhart. Indeed, his influence in France was remarkable. What Lockhart desired was that the Spanish should be attacked, and when Turenne informed him that he was about acting on the offensive, Lockhart required no explanations for the determination, as it was in unison with his own policy, and he had full faith in the soldiership of Turenne. Moreover, Turenne, at that time, was a Huguenot, and had not accepted the Court opinions, which, if not an additional reason for good understanding, in no way diminished the common good feeling. For myself, Guizot is an authority.

For purposes of trade, the connection with Canada never ceased. In 1578 there were 150 French vessels at Newfoundland, besides 200 Spanish, Portuguese and English ships. One of the first facts to attract the attention of Champlain, was the remark of the Indian pointing to the waters of the Ottawa, as they were following the Matawa to its source, that it was the route to be taken to the East for traffic. Pontgravé is spoken of as having made many voyages, and as knowing Three Rivers well, while Tadousac was a recognised trading station. Although no record exists, there can be no doubt that trade with Canada was maintained by vessels annually arriving from Europe. Doubtless, the greater part belonged to Dieppe and La Rochelle, the object being to obtain furs, which in those early days must have yielded great profit. English vessels, generally speaking, do not appear to have proceeded further than Newfoundland.

CHAPTER II.

It was immediately after the Peace of Vervins, 1598, that a nobleman of Brittany, the Marquis de la Roche, undertook to organize an expedition to the New World. What is known of the enterprize is from L'Escarbot. We learn that not finding volunteers, the crew was supplemented from the prisons. Whatever the cause, forty were landed on Sable Island, some leagues to the east of Halifax, in the same latitude. It is not improbable that difficulties had occurred during the voyage and that these men were landed until some scheme was matured for their future control. La Roche started on his explorations when a violent tempest arose, a western gale, by which the vessel was driven back to France. The editors of the Champlain narrative of 1632 speak of him as dying from a broken heart. It was not until 1603 that Sable Island was revisited, when twelve of the number only were found alive. They were taken back to France.

Chauvin's attempt of 1600 followed. He was a naval officer and belonged to Rouen and was associated with Pontgravé of Saint Malo, the latter better known by his subsequent connection with Champlain. He must then have been in middle life, between forty and fifty, for he is described by Sagard, who personally knew him, as being in 1629, upwards of seventy. The two received a monopoly of the fur trade, one of the conditions being that they should establish a colony of five hundred persons. Tadousac was reached ; Pontgravé was desirous of proceeding to Three Rivers, to which he had made previous voyages. Chauvin determined to remain at Tadousac. They were successful in gathering a cargo of furs, in reality the main object of the expedition, and started for France ; but sixteen of the crew remained at Tadousac. It was at least the beginning of settlement. These unfortunate men were left

in the most northern part of Canada, without proper clothing to meet our healthy but rigorous winter, and with an insufficient stock of provisions. De Monts had accompanied them as a volunteer; it must have been from him that Champlain obtained the account of the expedition as he described it. They ate up immediately their provisions and lived without order and discipline in a state of confusion '*la cour du roi Petault.*'* Had it not been for the Indians who fed them, they must all have died; many did succumb.

A second voyage was made which had equally in view the acquisition of furs. On this occasion no detachment was left behind, and the Tadousac experiment was not repeated. A third voyage followed during which Chauvin died. No further attempt was made by his representatives or associates to continue his operations. There is one record connected with Chauvin. He was the first to build a stone house on the Northern Continent, in 1599 at Tadousac. Champlain has described the building, so the fact is established.

A figure now appears on the scene, not limned by tradition, but clearly and distinctly drawn by himself in the record of his labours; Samuel Champlain, the founder of New France. His own pen has given us the fullest means of judging his character and genius. It is by his writings that we can form a just estimate of the high qualities of his manhood. His contemporaries equally bear testimony to his singularly straightforward and honourable nature; even his portrait has come down to us and his features are known by the engraving of Moncornet. Sagard and L'Escarbot knew him personally and have left us full details of him. His career embraces the

* This expression was current in French society at that date. It is found in Molière's *Tartuffe*, in the 12th line of the first act :

On n'y respecte rien, chacun y parle haut,
Et c'est tout justement la cour du roi Petaud.

The *Tartuffe* was first played at Versailles, 12th May, 1664, when the performance was confined to the first three acts. It was afterwards so played the 29th November, 1664, and the 9th November, 1665. The first representation of the entire piece was given in Paris, 5th August, 1667. On the following day it was forbidden. It re-appeared at Paris, 5th February, 1669.

first thirty-two years of the History of Canada : years of quiet and repose compared to the struggles and disasters which marked the next thirty years of the rule of the men who succeeded him. The first Canadian record of him is 1603, and he died on Christmas day 1635.

Champlain has not hitherto been assigned the place in the history of the country which is his by right. His motives have been misrepresented ; his actions have been unfairly criticised ; and the events which arose, partly from the neglect of the mother country, partly from the want of power of those who followed him, partly from the very situation itself ; have been attributed to his policy and action. His name, household word as it is, is not held in affectionate regard as an article of French Canadian faith. Nevertheless, no name in French or British Canada is more pre-eminent, and from no single influence have sprung such lasting memorials as those attributable to his policy and his life.

I have said that Champlain is to be judged by his writings. They cannot be said to include in its entirety the editions of 1632 and 1640; with some slight variation one and the same. No opinion of Champlain must be sought for in these pages. The book was undoubtedly edited by some person devoted to the interests of the Jesuits, then having great strength and influence, especially at Court ; possibly by some Jesuit who had been in Canada. The fact is proved by the context. Nominally it appeared in 1632, but there is no "*Extrait du Privilege du roi*" given to establish the fact. Champlain was in France from December, 1629, to 23rd March, 1633 ; three years. During this period the negotiations were being carried on to obtain the restoration to France of Quebec, conquered by Kirke in 1629, and that Champlain was constantly with Richelieu on the subject, there cannot be a doubt. The treaty of Saint Germain en Laye is dated 29th March, 1632, so it appears that Champlain remained a year in Paris to make arrangements for returning to Canada.

The leading idea of Champlain was to establish the value of Canada to France. He looked upon its political and com-

mercial importance with the eye of a statesman. To him it was the last thought to regard Canada as a mere field for the conversion of the savage. Nevertheless, the editors of this edition have placed into the mouth of such a man the opinion that the conversion of one unbeliever is of greater value than the conquest of a people! We have Champlain's own words written to Cardinal Richelieu 15th August, 1635, four months before his death. He says,* that some of the Indians live in towns and villages, others are migratory, hunters and fishermen; all led by no more ardent desire than to have among them a number of Frenchmen and religious teachers to be instructed in our faith. He adds, and the passage is important, as it fully explains the policy which governed him. "We require but one hundred and twenty men, light armed for protection against the arrows. Possessing them, with two or three thousand war Indians, our allies, in a year we can render ourselves absolute masters of all these peoples, by bringing among them the necessary good government, and this policy will increase the worship of religion and an inconceivable commerce. The whole for the glory of God." When the history of Canada for the thirty years succeeding Champlain's death is considered, we can conceive the loss to Canada caused by the deaths of Richelieu and Champlain.

While Champlain was in Paris waiting the conclusion of events he completed the account of his travels. There is no published account of the voyage of 1617. That of 1618 is the last given to the world by himself. The published works of Champlain are: the edition without date containing the voyage of 1603. The edition of 1613 containing the voyages of 1604-7: of 1608-9: of 1610: of 1611: during 1612 Champlain

* Contrées habitées de nombre insinu de peuples les vns sedentaires ayant villes et villages.....aultres qui sont errans chasseurs et pescheurs, tous n'aspirant que auoir vn nombre de François et religieux pour être instruits à nostre foy..... Il ne faut que cent vingt hommes armez à la lègere pour esuiter les fleches; ce que ayant avec deux ou trois mille sauvages de guerre nos alliez dans un an on se rendra maîtres absolu de tous ces peuples en y appôrtant l'ordre requis et cela augmentera le culte de la religion et un traffic incroyable.....Le tout pour la gloire de Dieu. —[*Laval Champlain, 1448*].

was in France : and the voyage of 1613. The edition 1619 containing the discoveries 1615-18. Champlain completed the account of his voyages up to the taking of Quebec by Kirke. There is also internal evidence that he prepared for Richelieu a Memoir setting forth the claim of France to Canada. It was with this ground work that the edition of 1632 was prepared ; and not issued probably until 1633 after Champlain's departure in March of that year. Not a gratuitous assertion ; for where original documents are tampered with, it is a fair inference that misrepresentation has not stopped at the point where we have traced it to exist.

Now for the proof of this statement. There is evidence that Champlain's own contribution to this production was written in 1630. In speaking of the time during which Quebec was inhabited he names a period of twenty-two years. The "habitation" was commenced in 1608. There is a material difference of style in what is written by Champlain and what is intercalated. There are utterly unintelligible passages which could only have been penned by one who imperfectly knew that of which he was writing. There are verbal alterations carelessly made affecting the sense ; marginal references betokening ignorance of the subject ; the introduction of words not used by Champlain, notably, Mont Royal applied to Montreal. When Champlain speaks of this locality, he uses the words, "the Sault, the Grand Sault and the Sault St. Louis."

What is of greater moment is that every favourable allusion to the Recollet Fathers is omitted, while every possible mention of the Jesuits is made. The mission of Père Biard in Acadia [Nova Scotia and part of Maine] is introduced, having nothing to do with Canada and Champlain, and which could only be known by one having access to the Jesuits' Relations. The same may be said of the letter of Père Allemand dated from Bordeaux, 22nd November, 1629, to the Superior at Paris. There are other inaccuracies to which I will hereafter allude. Had Champlain been the writer he could never have so narrated them. Further the mention of renegade Frenchmen

could not have come from his pen.* There were none such having influence on the expedition ; three subordinate clerks are named as remaining with the English at Quebec. They were neither connected with, assisting nor advising the expedition ; the service they gave was that of interpreters.

At the date when the name of the Recollets was ignored, they had been fourteen years in possession of the Canadian Missions. According to Le Clerq they had the support of Richelieu and Madame d'Aiguillon, what Champlain could do, he did, he warned them against their pretended friends. There is no reason to suspect Champlain's good faith in any one act of his life. Had he been guilty of the suppression of their name, and the substitution of that of the Jesuits, it would have been an act of meanness, and a stain on his character. The most extraordinary language is placed in Champlain's mouth ; one speech is that one of the blunders of Chauvin's expedition was that he was a heretic. Champlain's own language is that of a man of large mind. There can be no doubt that he was actuated by strong religious convictions, and when these are expressed by him it is in advocacy of implanting the Christian faith. In any estimate of the character and opinions of Champlain this edition must be rejected. It is a work produced entirely in favour of the Jesuits to the exclusion of the Recollets, whom it treats with injustice and wrong. It was an engine to influence opinion, so that Canada restored to France should be given over entirely to the Jesuits. Unfortunately for *La Nouvelle France* this policy was adopted to exercise the depressing influence experienced for seventy years. Had Champlain's policy, contained in the few lines above quoted, been followed, how different would have been the chronicle.

Samuel de Champlain was born at Brouage, a sea port to the south of La Rochelle in Saintonge. There is no record of his baptism, but his birth may safely be dated at 1567. He was the son of Antoine de Champlain, a naval captain. All evidence points to the certainty that Champlain was a Pro-

* Vide note end of chapter IX.

testant. It is admitted that at that date that Samuel was a name never given to Roman Catholics and was confined to the Huguenots. The strict observance in France of the correctness of the Records in the *Registres Civils* is known. It is a portion of French national life for the name of every Roman Catholic child to be inscribed in their pages. Champlain's name does not appear. The inference is plain that he was baptised as a Huguenot. The argument that his father and mother were baptised in the ancient church has been advanced to show that he was a Roman Catholic. So were the fathers of Luther and Melancthon. The argument even adds strength to the theory as to the cause of the non-appearance of Champlain's name in the church registers.

Champlain is careful to tell us that he was engaged for some years in the army of Henry IV. under Marshal d'Aumont and other leaders of that side. He served as *Marechal de logis*, equivalent in our service to the rank of deputy quartermaster general. He remained in the army until the Conquest of Brittany. D'Aumont was a Huguenot and played a distinguished part in the battle of Ivry fought in 1590. When Brittany was brought to a settled state, in 1598, and peace had been obtained, Champlain was without employment. He was of a family of sailors. One of his uncles, the Captain Provençale, had been employed by the King of Spain as Pilot General. Hitherto, through the influence of the League, the Spaniards had obtained a footing in France. At the Peace they left the country and Provençale was engaged to take the ships back to Spain. His nephew Champlain accompanied him and remained some months in Spain. An expedition was fitted out against Porto Rico, in which he was to have accompanied his uncle, when news arrived that Porto Rico had fallen. The uncle was transferred to other duty, so Champlain was promoted to his position. The expedition started on a voyage of exploration to what then constituted Spanish America, and extended over twenty-six months. Champlain kept a diary of daily occurrences. On his return he drew up an account of his voyage which was circulated in MS. and attracted the notice

of Henry IV. The King allowed him a small pension. It is only within the last thirty years that the MS. was discovered. It is contained in the Laval University Edition* of his works.

These travels, written among Spaniards and while sailing under their flag, refer entirely to his own experience and observations. They are unconnected with his subsequent career; nevertheless, they repay examination, as they establish the features of his character in his careful, conscientious spirit of enquiry. The account itself is full of interest. The jealousy with which the Spaniards noticed the approach of any foreign vessel to their coast is well known. Champlain tells us that the negro slave who was the first to report such a vessel immediately gained his freedom. Champlain obtained also some experience of the mosquitoes, that pest of this continent. He was surprised at the Indians eating rattlesnakes; he was struck with the luxury of eating turtles, and made some remarks on the Inquisition which could scarcely have been pleasing to Mary of Medicis. He indignantly relates how Indians were beaten for not attending mass, and gives a sketch of the chastisement. He also suggested the possibility of constructing the Panama Canal, and was the first to point out the importance of the scheme. He alludes to Drake, and to his death. We find mention of tobacco under the name of "Petun," showing that it is not a Canadian word, but that it originated in the West Indies. His sketches are original, and in their way possess merit. His maps, such as they are, belong to that date. Among the former we have the representation of some heretics being consumed at an *auto-da-fe*.

Nothing had hitherto taken place to obtain for Canada more than passing notice. Cartier had shown that it was not

* This work, published in 1870, marks an epoch in our literature. It was brought out under the authority of "Laval," with conscientious care and with a fidelity to the text certainly never exceeded and rarely equalled. The notes appended are marked by learning, research, and are perfectly free from all bias. They have the impress of having in view truth alone. I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my obligations both for the text—otherwise it would have been unattainable—and to the emendations and opinions contained in the notes. I desire to express my gratitude for the service thus rendered me. The references to Champlain give the consecutive pages in this edition.

the land of precious metals, and commerce had not as yet created the development of those resources which constitute the true wealth of the Dominion. There is reason to believe that Cartier's description of the climate had its influence in delaying further settlement, but the time had now come when the attempt was to be made.

The death of Chauvin forced Pontgravé to enter into new relationships, and, after some negociation, he formed a connection with M. Amar de Chastes, for the further prosecution of the enterprize in Canada. De Chastes had influence with the Court. He had rendered signal service to Henry IV. at the period of the desperate battle of Arques, in which, with less than half his number, the King had defeated the Duke of Mayence. De Chastes had undertaken, in case of necessity, to admit Henry and his army within the walls of Dieppe, he being then Governor. The service was never forgotten. Even after De Chastes' death, a sum of money was given to his children.* A patent was obtained for the expedition ; Champlain hearing of it waited upon De Chastes, and received an offer to take part in it. It was necessary to obtain permission of the king to accept it, owing to Champlain's pension. It was granted and the first voyage was made in 1603.† The expedition was in reality a commercial venture, a number of merchants combining to carry it out. It differed from the other voyages which had previously been made inasmuch as the society was granted certain privileges with the understanding that it was to fulfil certain duties. Hence it obtained to some extent a national character.‡ On reaching Tadousac

* Sully, Book xxi., 1605.

† The first printed account of this voyage is extremely rare. One copy only is known to exist, that of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

‡ Sully was opposed to the enterprise. He tells us, Vol. v., p. 87 : "Je mets au nombre des choses faites contre mon opinion, la colonie qui fut envoyée cette année en Canada. Il n'y a aucune sorte de richesse à espérer de tous les pays du nouveau monde qui sont au delà du quarantième degré de latitude, ce fut le sieur du Mont que sa Majesté mit à la tête de cette expédition."

It was in the following year that the French East India Company was formed (1st June, 1604) the originator of which was a Fleming named Gerard Le Roi,

there was a "tabagie," a feast. Champlain, participating in it, was struck by the habit of the Indians of cleaning their dirty hands in their own hair, or their dog's hide. A more important proceeding took place which made great impression upon Champlain as his after life showed. In his crew were the two Indians who had been taken to France by Pontgravé in the previous voyage. One of them addressed the assembled Council, for such it became. He spoke of the good treatment which he had received in France, and informed them that the king desired to send inhabitants to the country and assist them to make peace with their enemies. Champlain parenthetically informs us that their enemies were the Iroquois: a proof that no subsequent proceedings of Champlain created any deadly enmity. The evidence of its existence lay in the deserted condition of Quebec and Montreal, sixty years previously the seats of the prosperous communities of Stadacona and Hochelaga. Indeed this very "tabagie" was held as a triumph gained over the Iroquois. Champlain ascended some leagues up the Saguenay. On his return, accompanied by Pontgravé, he proceeded up the Saint Lawrence in a pinnace. He reached Lake Saint Peter. It was Saint Peter's day, hence its name. It had previously been known as Lac d'Angoulême. He ascended the Richelieu, then called the River des Iroquois, some leagues, possibly to the site of the Saint Ours' dam, fourteen miles from the Saint Lawrence. From the information he received he was enabled to describe the river and Lake Champlain with fair accuracy. He followed the Saint Lawrence to the foot of the rapids at Montreal. There was no longer an Indian settlement at Hochelaga; it had disappeared. He could not ascend the rapids; he followed, however, the trail by the river side to their head, where he met some Indians and gained some knowledge of the western waters. He mentions an Algonquin account of a Sault, a league wide, whence there falls an immense amount of water,* which has been

in the articles of which, it was set forth 'les gentilshommes pourrant entrer dans cette association sans deroger.'

* Grandissime courant d'eau.

accepted as an allusion to the Falls of Niagara. He returned to Tadousac and made some eastern explorations, reaching Percé rock. Mention is made of a Sieur Prêvert who had a love for the marvellous, and told a story of a female Monster Gougou, with pockets so capacious that a vessel could be put into them. Champlain returned to Tadousac, and thence to France ; Pontgravé carrying back with him a son of a chief as a record of the voyage.

On their arrival at France they learned that De Chastes was dead ; the combination was once more broken up. Champlain again waited upon the king, as the recipient of his bounty, and submitted a map, which to-day cannot be found. Henry, always gracious and ever sensible to merit, paid particular attention to what he heard, and promised his personal support to the enterprise. A new company was formed. M. Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts, took the place of De Chastes. He was a countryman of Champlain, a Huguenot, and had rendered service to the King. At this period he was a gentleman of the King's Chamber and had accompanied Chauvin in his first expedition as a volunteer. He obtained the royal authority to continue the exploration. There was no test of religious orthodoxy necessary to join the expedition and there is little doubt of the evil consequences of the departure from this principle, when it was at a future period resolved to exclude from the country all but professing Roman Catholics.

It was thus that the first expedition of De Monts had its origin, the forerunner of the efforts which led to the settlement of Canada. The two vessels left Havre de Grace, France, the 17th April, and arrived off Cape de la Have, in Nova Scotia, on the 8th May, 1604.

CHAPTER III.

De Monts had conceived a prejudice against the climate of Canada. The opinion then entertained was, that the further West you advanced, the more severe the temperature. The warm weather of July at Quebec was found at Montreal, and it was reasoned that the winter was everywhere the same. Moreover the privations felt by those who passed the winter at Tadousac had impressed De Monts strongly with the necessity of seeking a more southern climate. Hence his attempt to form a settlement in Acadia. One marked object of the expedition was to establish the Christian Faith.*

Champlain is the historian of his own voyages. He is the authority for all that can be said concerning them. Except for what occurred at Port Royal and what took place in France, there is no evidence but his own of his proceedings. Had Champlain not been his own chronicler, how differently would his character have stood in history. Our one authority would have been L'Escarbot. The whole honour of recording the early history of New France would have rested with a man who was never further than Port Royal except on a trip to the St. Croix, immediately to return. In writing of Champlain as a rule we are guided by his own indisputable authority.

The expedition contained one hundred and fifty artificers, with some gentlemen of family, among them De Poutrincourt. They had a monopoly of the trade in peltry, by the profit of which the expedition was to be sustained. It consisted of two vessels ; De Monts with Champlain was in one, Pontgravé in the second. They were to rendezvous at Port Mouton, in the South-East of Nova Scotia, as the coast was

* I beg leave to call particular attention to these words. It is Champlain's own expression "c'est plus facile de planter la foy Chrestienne," [p. 154]. With my theory of Champlain, they claim importance.

known. They had previously apprehended a free trader, one Rosignol, whose name is still preserved in Nova Scotian geography as the head waters of the River Murray. The vessels had separated, so a boat was sent to find Pontgravé, himself concerned for De Monts. When the expedition came together, Champlain in a cutter of eight tons, with ten men, started on a voyage of exploration. They passed Cape Sable, landed on some of the islands, knocked down birds with sticks, caught seals on the shore, and occasionally cod in the waters, and noticed the richness of the foliage. Champlain ascended the bay between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. De Monts calls it "La Grande Baye Française;" it is known in modern geography as the Bay of Fundy.* He reached the North of Long Island. On returning to Port Mouton, he found Pontgravé impatient to proceed further, so they weighed anchor and started. They were particularly struck with Port Royal [Annapolis], which Champlain tells us he himself named. Thence they passed up Chignecto Bay and coasted New Brunswick to the Mouth of the St. John. Proceeding onwards, the island at the mouth of the Scoudic in Passamaquoddy Bay attracted their attention as a site for settlement. They established themselves there and gave the place the name of St. Croix. Housing themselves as best they could, they were greatly annoyed by the mosquitoes. De Monts with Champlain resolved to winter at St. Croix, Pontgravé and Poutrincourt returned to France, the latter having obtained from De Monts the concession of Port Royal. Champlain again left on a voyage of discovery. Arriving at the Penobscot, he ascended it some leagues and learned that by ascending this river and taking the waters falling into the Saint Lawrence, Quebec could be reached. He descended the river, and again sailing to the South went as far as the Kennebec.

The winter of 1604 was passed in much misery. Thirty-nine out of seventy-nine died from scurvy; twenty narrowly

* Old maps showed the end of the Bay with the words *Fond de la Baie* [End of the Bay]. We have here the etymology of the present name.

escaping that fate. The cold was the cause of great suffering. Its periodical intensity was new to them, and they did not know how to guard against it. Their buildings were insufficient for their protection. Except the Spanish wine, everything which they had to drink froze. Their drinking water was bad, generally melted snow. The land was surrounded by salt water, and the rise and fall of the tide made it impossible to visit the springs on the mainland. The work of the hand mill to grind the grain was painful. The accommodation for sleeping was bad. They ran short of fire wood. Their diet was salt meat, with some few vegetables. It can be easily conceived that they suffered from scurvy. "It is not easy," wrote Champlain, somewhat bitterly, "to know this country without having wintered here. On arriving in summer, everything is charming from the foliage of the woods and the fine landscape, and the plentiful fisheries of every kind, which we found. There are six months of winter!" Champlain wrote under the depression to which the most gallant nature has sometimes to succumb. As he lived to know Canada better in after years, he must have smiled at his own picture.

April came, no vessel from France arrived and there was painful disappointment. De Monts felt that the site was unhealthy and must be abandoned. He had two small vessels with him, which he had seized from traders; these he resolved to use to reach Gaspé, trusting there to meet a vessel engaged in the Canadian trade, by which he could reach France. In June a pinnace arrived with Pontgravé, with the news that the vessel in which he had sailed was but six leagues distant. Nevertheless De Monts determined to abandon the settlement. They started to seek a better location and he went as far as the Kennebec.* At the River Saco, they found the Indians work-

* Mr. Parkman, the United States historian, has pointed out how these colonists bore themselves in a spirit of kindness, brightly contrasting with the rapacious cruelty of the Spaniards and the harshness of the English settlers. There is no more honourable page in French history than the conduct of De Monts, Champlain and Poutrincourt in this first attempt of settlement on the Northern Continent.

ing with shovels of hard wood, cultivating the Tobacco Plant, which had worked itself up from the more southern climate where it is indigenous. They passed southwards, giving the name of Saint Louis to Plymouth Rock fifteen years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed there. Champlain relates a curious pantomime by which the Indians made him understand the depth of snow. They pointed to the white linen of Champlain, and spilling some sand by grains slowly on the ground, they raised their hand till it came to the height of a foot above it. The expedition did not escape difficulty with the Indians. An attempt was made to rob an unarmed sailor of a kettle, which resulted in the sailor's death. No chastisement followed, making the innocent pay for the crime of the aggressors. The expedition reached to the north of Nantucket.

The result of these examinations led to the opinion that Port Royal was the most fitting spot for settlement and the establishment of the site was resolved upon. Pontgravé was left in charge of the operations while De Monts returned to France. Champlain tells us that he remained in the hope of being able to continue his explorations. The removal, accordingly, took place, and the winter of 1605 was passed at Port Royal. The scurvy proved still an infliction, but in a modified degree. Twelve only died. Spring came, and no vessel had arrived by the middle of June. The project of proceeding to Gaspé was renewed; and Pontgravé constructed a vessel which would take them there. Two men were induced to remain, to take charge of the buildings. The start was made, when a small pinnace was met and news was received that two ships were on their way to the settlement. Accordingly, the vessel returned to Port Royal. There they found Poutrincourt, who had arrived. The site of the settlement was changed, being fixed on the spot where the city of Annapolis now stands and the cultivation of the ground commenced. Towards August, a small boat, sent by some Saint Malo fishermen, engaged in the cod fishery, brought the intelligence that some traders were dealing in furs at Canseau. Pontgravé was starting for

France, and this news led to his immediate departure, with the design of arresting them. He does not appear to have succeeded. Champlain tells us that he himself remained behind in order to finish the map he had commenced of the coast and country, and he relates how they watched the departing ship till they lost sight of her.

Another exploration followed. St. Croix was again visited, and the proof of the fertility of the soil was shown in the crops which they had sown. They descended to the South of Nantucket Bay ; some of the party were attacked by Indians, and five of Champlain's men were killed. They had remained on shore contrary to order, and at early dawn were attacked by a large force. The cause of the ill-feeling is not stated ; but, as the narrative is read, the impression is forced upon us that the attack was dictated by jealousy. The scene of this event was the modern Chatham.

Another winter, 1606, was passed at Port Royal. Both Champlain and L'Escarbot tell us of the devices which the gallant little band adopted to keep up their spirits. The scourge of scurvy was still present, seven of the party dying of it. They had commenced to prepare the ground in early spring for the crops when, on the 24th May, a vessel of from six to seven tons sailed into the harbour. A youth named Chevalier was on board and he brought letters from De Monts to Poutrincourt notifying him that the privilege had been revoked, and requested Poutrincourt to bring back to France those who composed the settlement.

There was no course but compliance. Poutrincourt sent Chevalier to St. John to collect furs and L'Escarbot accompanied him, and Champlain tells us that it was the only voyage he made. L'Escarbot in his own history shows that he was nettled by the remark, and he goes out of his way to allude to it. In the meantime, while waiting for Chevalier's return, Poutrincourt and Champlain, in a small boat, coasted up the Bay of Fundy. In a Bay, probably Greville Bay, they found a cross, very old, entirely covered with moss and almost thoroughly rotten, a plain memorial that Christians had pre-

viously been on the spot ; * a fact which also establishes that the trade is more ancient here than the record tells us. On the 12th July the Secretary of De Monts arrived to confirm the letters of Chevalier. The stores were sent to Canso, where the ship lay which was to receive them. Poutrincourt remained behind to gather some grain when it was ripe, to take with them to France. They left Port Royal in a small boat, Champlain still continuing his observations. The vessels were reached, and they started for France, to arrive in October, 1607, bearing with them all who had shared this first attempt at colonization on the Northern part of the Continent. Among the many who have so landed on this continent, they alone were the exception who bore themselves gently towards the savage. A number of the latter had established themselves at Port Royal and had partaken of the joys and pains of winter. It was with expressions of sorrow only that they saw the white man depart.

Nevertheless, De Monts in no way lost heart, and he resolved to continue in the career of exploration for settlement. A new expedition was determined on, and De Monts selected the Saint Lawrence as the spot where the effort should be made. Champlain counselled the change. In Nova Scotia and on the Coast of New Brunswick and Maine, he had been struck by the number of ports affording protection to vessels from sea, and by the small number of Indians whom he had met. In Nova Scotia he would be exposed to rival attempts at settlement, and at the same time he could not see the possibility of obtaining Indian allies. In Canada the full control would remain with those who first made a settlement on the Saint Lawrence, and Champlain counted the native tribes as powerful instruments in carrying out his policy. We have the key here to his conduct in assisting the Hurons in their wars. Obloquy has been thrown upon his name on account of this proceeding and the subsequent assaults of the Iro-

* Une croix qui estoit fort vieille toute couverte de mousse et presque toute pourrie qui monstroit, vu signe evident qu' autrefois il y avoit esté des Chrestiens.
—[Champlain, p. 273.]

quois have been ascribed to his intervention. The truth is, that at this time there was a chronic state of war. No one will affirm that the Stadacona and Hochelaga settlements described by Cartier were destroyed by any cause but that of the unquenchable hostility among the Indian tribes. The fact of their disappearance may have had its influence upon Champlain. It was not his policy which was at fault, it was with the Mother Country the blame lay. Had the steps taken in 1665, under Tracy, been followed in 1630, when, at that early date, the Iroquois commenced their depredations, there would have been no long record of Indian wars. After the expedition of 1665 to the Mohawk country there were few serious raids until the time of De la Barre, followed by the attack on Lachine in 1688 due to the imbecility of de Denonville. Moreover, the policy of Champlain would have prevented the destruction of the Hurons. The fashionable influences of the French Court, enabled the Jesuits to dictate the policy with respect to Canada. Their attempt was to establish the undisputed supremacy of the Church. Champlain wanted soldiers and by the organization of the friendly Indians to win them to Christianity and to civilize them. Sustained by such a force, he would infallibly have successfully laid the foundations of French rule on this Continent. It was the contrary policy which led to the attack on the white settler which made his life one constant struggle with danger, which caused the annihilation of the Huron race, the ruin of the Jesuits' missions and the murder of five of the missionaries ; the latter events taking place within fifteen years of Champlain's death.

In 1608 Champlain started for the Saint Lawrence. Pontgravé was with the expedition. A settlement was made at Quebec, as the most suitable place. Some ground was cleared, buildings were commenced, when a conspiracy was discovered. The ringleader was hanged and three of those actively implicated were sent back to France with Pontgravé on his return in the autumn. Matters now went peaceably on. The Summer was passed in completing the "Abitation de Quebec," of

which Champlain has left us a sketch. It was situated in the present Lower Town on the river bank, in the corner where Notre Dame Street meets Sous le Fort Street. It was here Champlain laid the foundation for the future city. Winter came, the scurvy carrying off twenty of their number. In the neighbourhood on the St. Charles, Champlain found traces of Cartier's sojourn in the shape of foundations of a chimney. In June Des Marais, Pontgravé's son-in-law, arrived, telling him that Pontgravé was at Tadousac. Champlain proceeded thither. The question had then to be discussed what policy should be followed with the Indians. Should they be aided by what force Champlain could command, in the expedition which they had resolved to make against the Iroquois? It is plain that no advance in discovery could have been made without their assistance, and that this assistance could only have been obtained by rendering them service. What other policy was open to Champlain, but that of Cortez and Pizarro? The promise of aid had already been given to the Montagnais and if Champlain's presence in the country was to be looked upon with favour the promise was to be kept. With the view of making explorations beyond the points then known by Europeans, Champlain in the middle of June ascended the Saint Lawrence. About a league and a half west of the river Saint Anne, they were joined by a party of Algonquins who were to form a part of the expedition. Champlain tells us of their mortal feud with the Iroquois, a proof that in no way he created it. They all returned to Quebec where there was festivity for some days. It was brought to a close and the war parties started, Champlain with nine men, des Marais and a pilot joined it. With his Indian allies he ascended the Richelieu and reached Lake Champlain, the first white man who saw its waters: subsequently for one hundred and sixty-five years to be the scene of contest between the Indian and white man, the French and English, the revolted Colonies and the Mother Country. As Champlain looked on those waters, who could have foretold their future troubled history. Neither the river nor lake was inhabited. The scene of so many

warlike expeditions was at this period possessed only by the deer and the beaver, which Champlain tells us abounded. The advance up Lake Champlain was made only by night. They reached Crown Point. They were then in the Iroquois domain, very shortly they knew of the presence of the enemy. It was ten at night. There were the usual cries. The Iroquois landed, placed their canoes side by side and entrenched themselves as best they were able. The Algonquins retired on the water keeping their canoes side by side. Both parties must afterwards have landed, for the whole night was passed by both in dances and songs.* The affair took place on the 30th July. The arquebuse of Champlain immediately killed two of their chiefs, a third was wounded, after some slight resistance the Iroquois took flight. The Algonquins returned to Canada with some dozen prisoners, and it was with respect to one of these poor creatures that Champlain was to have his first experience of Indian torture.

* Toute la nuit se passa en danses et chansons tant d'un coté que d'autre. p. 342.

CHAPTER IV.

In 1609 De Monts summoned Champlain to return to France. The patent had been revoked and he could not obtain its renewal. Nevertheless, De Monts with his associates decided to continue their efforts, and, in March, 1610, Champlain again started for Canada. He arrived at Tadousac, where, he tells us, there were vessels which had reached that place on the 18th April, a date "never known during the more than sixty years that the voyages had been made."* He there saw one of the Quebec settlers to learn that they were all well, and that the winter had been mild. He brought some new workmen with him. At Quebec there was a party of Montagnais desirous of continuing the war: but at Tadousac his mind had been impressed with the possibility of an expedition; by which it had been strongly affected. It was to proceed up the river discharging into the Saint Lawrence at Three Rivers to the country where there was a great sea—evidently Hudson Bay—and to return by the Saguenay to Tadousac. The Indians brought to Champlain's notice the efforts of the Norman and Breton traders to establish relations with them; they had given them the name of "Mistigoches." Champlain made them understand that their object was solely to obtain what merchandize they could sell in France. The Indians replied that these parties only came to make war with the Beavers. They, however, declined to assist in any explorations until the following year: and Champlain clearly saw that he could only count on their aid in the proportion he would help them in their wars. He accordingly resolved to take part in another hostile expedition with them.

It was in this voyage that Champlain became cognizant of

* Page 355.

the existence of native copper ; a chief, giving him a piece a foot long, informed him that there was plenty of it, where it had been obtained. The Indian canoes met Champlain at Three Rivers. The first request of the Indians was that Champlain should abandon the vessel in which he had ascended the river, and take a seat in a canoe with them. He agreed to do so. They had scarcely reached the mouth of the Richelieu when they heard of the presence of the Iroquois, who to the number of one hundred had barricaded themselves. Champlain took his place in one of the canoes ; his crew declined to follow him, Captain Thibaut excepted. The two landed with the Indians, after a paddle of half a league, and made their way for another half league through the woods, in one spot being nearly driven mad by mosquitoes. They came upon the Iroquois strongly barricaded. Champlain was wounded in the ear and neck, the scar, he gives us to understand, he bore to the grave.* In this early struggle, Champlain and Thibaut, of the French, were alone present. Their arquebuses did some execution. The ammunition, however, began to fail ; Champlain called upon the Indians to break through the barricade while he protected, with the arquebuse, those engaged in the effort. Matters, indeed, were looking serious when, as the shots were heard, some of those who were left behind in the barques, exclaimed that it was a shame to allow Champlain to battle alone with the savages ; and, accordingly, they hurried to his assistance. This accession of force enabled the barricade to be broken. The Iroquois, excepting fifteen who were made prisoners, were all killed or drowned. The scene of the fight was on the Richelieu, a league above Sorel. The unfortunate prisoners were tortured. The expedition returned to Quebec.

* Quand ils furent dans nostre vaisseau, ils regardoient chacun au visage & comme ie ne paroissois point ils demanderent où estoit monsieur de Champlain, on leur fit response qui j'estoys demeuré en France : ce que ne croyans du tout, il y eut vu vieillard qui vint à moy en vn coin, où ie me promenois, ne desirant encor estre cognu & me prenant l'oreille (car il se doutoyent qui i'estoys) *vid la cicatrice du coup de flèche* que ie reçeus à la deffaicte des Yroquois : alors il s'escria & tous les autres après lui avec grandes démonstrations de ioye.—*Voyage 1613*, p. 436.

It was known in France that De Monts' privileges were revoked, consequently, a great many vessels were fitted out, and reached Tadousac. But the amount of business to be done was limited; many vessels accomplished nothing, and as Champlain remarks, those in them would long remember the losses of the year. It was on the Saint Lawrence that news was brought them of the assassination of Henry IV. It was also reported that Sully and two other great noblemen had been killed, and that Saint Luc had come hastily to Brouage, and had driven out "those of the religion." Pontgravé and Champlain accordingly left for France, leaving one Du Parc with sixteen men in charge of Quebec, well provided, Champlain telling them to live wisely in the fear of God, and observe due obedience to Du Parc.

The death of Henry IV. exercised great influence on the fortunes of Canada. He had personally taken interest in Champlain's voyages, and his energetic mind was well qualified to direct the fortunes of a growing colony. Louis XIII. was not then ten years old. Mary of Medicis was under the control of her favourites Leonora Galigai, and her husband, Concino Concini. Richelieu had not then appeared on the scene. It is not until 1614, when the States General were convoked at Sens, that we first hear of him. The Jesuits were becoming all-powerful at Court, encouraging fanciful and melodramatic theories of religion, in place of the prosaic performance of honest duty, and the true abnegation of self in the battle of life. France was unsettled and disordered. The Protestants, not without provocation, were acting with passion, and without judgment. The assassination of the king had alarmed them. The whole kingdom was threatened with convulsion and anarchy, and Canada was to pass out of the notice of those in power: and in the sense of giving aid, half a century was to elapse before the French Government could comprehend the duty of taking part in the defence of the country, and of protecting the persons of those living in New France. The ground was to be regarded simply as a field for the active trader, side by side with the devoted

missionary. Thus the Government fell virtually under the control of the Jesuits, who, impatient of contradiction, aimed only at the establishment of their authority which was to bring the colony to the verge of destruction.

Canada, as a political dependency of France, can only be said to date from 1663. What was effected by the authorities in the century of French government with the narrow aid and support extended by the mother country is remarkable in every respect, when the greater population of the English Colonies is considered. Had French statesmen better understood the problem with which they had to grapple, this continent, west of the Alleghanies must have become in all respects French : and that it is not so to-day, is due only to the immense efforts put forth by Imperial England, awakened, and directed by the energy of Chatham.

Nothing is known of Champlain's proceedings in France in 1611, more than that on the 27th December, 1610, he entered into a contract of marriage with Hélène Boulé. She was a Protestant and then only twelve years of age. Owing to her youth it was expressly stipulated that the marriage ceremony was not to take place until two years later. As Champlain sailed from France on the 1st March, 1611, and as there is no evidence to shew that further proceedings were then taken, it has been considered that the contract only was made. No record of his marriage has been found in the *Régistres Civils*. Those were not the days of civil marriages. Champlain was himself a man of severe piety and must have felt that the religious ceremony, according to his faith, was a necessity : so that when the marriage took place, a Protestant minister must have officiated. Champlain returned to France, 16th September, 1611. He remained there until 6th March, 1613. Madame de Champlain did not reach Canada until 1620. Saint Helen's Island, opposite Montreal, is named after her and in the narrative of the voyage of 1611 is so called.

Champlain arrived at Quebec the 21st May, 1611. The voyage had been one of unusual danger ; threatened by icebergs at Newfoundland, he formed the opinion that he had left

France at too early a date. He tells us how every one implored God's mercy,* and that when the danger was over every one praised Him for their deliverance. There was a rainy and cold fog so that they could scarcely keep themselves warm. For many days they passed through the dangers of a navigation in the midst of icebergs. He found Du Parc and the garrison in health. There had been no sickness and plenty of game had been obtained. The Algonquin chief Batiscan, whose name is preserved in the village some twenty-one leagues above Quebec, was there to meet Champlain, to be told what policy would be pursued. Champlain desired to make a reconnaissance north of Three Rivers, but the proposal was deferred until the next season. Champlain, however, gathered some information of the tribes which dwelt there. We learn likewise that there were other companies besides that of Champlain busied with Canada. A young man named Tresard, of La Rochelle, applied to accompany him in his expedition up the river. Champlain refused permission on the ground that he did not wish to serve as a guide to others.

Champlain made no stay at Quebec; but he ascended the Saint Lawrence immediately and arrived at the Grand Sault 26th May. No Indians were there. He made an exploration of the country, passing along the river bank of the rapids and reached the Lake of the Two Mountains. He could, however, find no place more fitted for settlement than that at the foot of the mountain, which Cartier had described as Mont Royal.[†]

The spot which attracted his attention is now known as Point à Callières, where the Montreal Custom House stands, the point where the river Saint Pierre discharged into the Saint Lawrence. He there found sixty arpents of prairie land, through which the Lachine Canal and the Grand Trunk Railway now pass, where there was marked evidence of

* se recommandoit à Dieu . . . & louasmes Dieu de nous auoir deliurez de ce peril. [p. 380].

[†] Montreal.

previous Indian settlement. Champlain describes this spot so unmistakeably * that he may be spoken of as the real founder of Montreal, if selection of the site entitles him to that distinction. When, thirty years later, Maisonneuve took possession of the locality, he simply acted on the experience and information gained on this occasion. It is not pretended that any new discoveries were made in 1642. Champlain caused some portion of the ground to be cleared, in view of future settlement.† In his description he points out the strategic advantages of Saint Helen's Island. He was joined here by Pontgravé and some members of the expedition.‡ With this assistance Champlain laid out two gardens ; one in the prairie, one in the cleared forest. Grain was sown, and the crop proved the fertility of the soil. During this period he continued his explorations. He ascended the river which has its outlet in the bay of La Prairie, whence a portage is made to the little Montreal river discharging into the Richelieu. This was the Indian route from the Sault in proceeding to attack the Iroquois in their own country. He likewise again visited the Lake of the Two Mountains. It was at this date that the name of Saint Louis was given to the rapids now generally known as the Lachine Rapids. It has been customary to consider the name as an act of homage to the French King Louis XIII., but at that day, the king was eleven years old and Mary de Medicis as Regent, was all powerful. The rapids were named after an unfortunate Frenchman drowned in a hunting expedition, named Louis, who had been attached to the staff of De Monts.§ Cham-

* *Voyage 1612*, [p. 391, 2].

† M. Dollier de Casson, in his account of possession being taken of Montreal alludes to this fact : Il est vrai que cette espèce de fortification précipitée était d'autant plus facile que M. De Champlain étant autrefois venu ici en traite avoit fait abattre beaucoup d' arbres pour se chauffer, et se garantir des ambuscades . . . de plus ce poste était naturellement fort avantageux . . . comme ce lieu est le plus avancé où les barques puissent monter & il n'y a pas de doute que ce lieu ne soit un des meilleurs du pays pour accomoder les habitants. [1641-42].

‡ & bonne compagnie le suiuiront & vindrent après lui pour y aller au butin. [p. 393].

§ p. 247. When Champlain saw the place where they descended, he tells us his hair stood on end [les cheueux me herisserent en la teste], p. 396.

plain records in full the misadventure. It took place on the 10th June, 1611. Of the three Indians of the party, two met the same fate.

Champlain relates that at this period there were thirteen vessels at the Sault, eleven of them unconnected with him, being those of traders. In this competition Champlain could only hope for assistance from the Indians by assisting them. The difficulties in which he was placed dictated to him the policy of constituting himself their ally: otherwise he would have made no progress in discovery or settlement. It is probable that with the slender force at his command, he would not have left the Saint Lawrence, or have advanced further west than the foot of the Sault. Indeed, the settlement beyond Three Rivers was of late date, that place having been long the limit of French enterprise. Champlain in the account of this voyage enters into the political considerations which led to the adoption of this policy. He relates how he attended a night council of the chiefs, in which they offered a perpetual treaty of friendship and engaged to assist him in his explorations: in consequence he undertook to proceed to their territory and make settlements, in spots where the land was fertile. Subsequently Champlain was present at a meeting at the Lake of the Two Mountains, attended only by a youth who had passed a winter with the tribe which had lately returned to the Sault. The Indians again expressed their personal devotion to him. Returning he descended the Lachine Rapids, stripped to his shirt. Champlain relates how he went down grimly clutching the bottom ribs of the canoe, with the determination to cling closely to it should it overset. He speaks of the dexterity of the Indians as they descended these rapids, which no other white person had done but himself and this boy.* Two of the white men accompanied the Indians on their return: one unconnected with Champlain. On their departure, he returned to Quebec, and thence to France, taking with him some oak to test how it would prove adaptable for

* *Ie le passay avec eux ce que je n'auois iamais fait, n'y autre Chrétien horsmis mondit garçon.* p. 408.

sheathing vessels, and for window openings. Even at this early date, Champlain saw before him the future timber trade of the country.

On his landing at La Rochelle,* he was joined by De Monts, who had previously proceeded to Paris to secure what privileges he could obtain. Champlain accompanied him, and while on the journey his horse fell with him and he was seriously injured. He again met Pontgravé at Fontainbleau. The latter had seen his partners at Paris. As permission was generally extended to all traders indifferently to visit Canada, they had determined as a company to discontinue their operations. De Monts accordingly obtained for himself the right to the buildings constructed at Quebec, and resolved with what assistance he could obtain to carry on the enterprise. An expedition was sent out in 1612, in order to assure his possession. During 1612 Champlain remained in France, and it was during this period that De Monts himself retired from the association. We learn from Champlain that it was left for him to provide the means of continuing the enterprise. Tadousac was still visited by the rival traders, who spread reports of Champlain's death. As he relates their conduct, he exclaims how envy creeps into mean natures, against all that which is virtuous. That such natures only require men who will risk their lives in a thousand dangers to discover peoples and countries, that they have the spoil, while others have the toil. It is not reasonable that when one has seized the sheep another should have the fleece. He ridicules the theory of the people of Saint Malo that as Jacques Cartier had discovered Canada and Newfoundland, that they could claim the entire right of the trade of Canada. There is a dignity of language used by Champlain to recall to our memory the great Englishmen of Queen Elizabeth's day.† In his view Cartier had discovered nothing but the waters of the

* 16th September, 1611.

† It was Sir Humphrey Gilbert who took possession of Newfoundland for Queen Elizabeth, some thirty years previously, who in a storm had said ‘Courage, my lads, we are as near Heaven at sea as by land.’

Saint Lawrence, being stopped by the Saint Louis Rapids. All north and south of the river had remained unknown, until he himself had assisted the Indians and so obtained their co-operation. Moreover, Cartier had not been paid by Saint Malo, but by Francis I., while Champlain and his friends had received nothing from the King. Their discoveries had been made at their own expense, and it was they who ought to enjoy the benefit of the labours of their hands. He trusts that God will one day grant the King grace to do much for the service of God for his own greatness and for the advantage of his subjects, so as to lead several poor peoples to the knowledge of our faith, that one day they may enjoy the Kingdom of Heaven.*

When in France, Champlain made an appeal to De Monts to continue his assistance, but without avail.† He had himself defined views of what was necessary, and briefly sets them forth. He saw that success could only be attained by system. There were a multitude of traders desirous of obtaining the fruit of his labours, but they were in no way willing to contribute to the establishment of such settlements as were necessary to control the trade. Such establishments were already defined in his own mind. Tadousac he had never held of account. The stations which he desired to commence were at Three Rivers and at Montreal. It has been seen that the site of the latter had been determined by him.‡

* Pages 415-417.

† Page 431.

‡ The Editors of the edition of 1632, use the word Mont Royal applied to this locality. The expression in this sense was never used by Champlain. When he landed at Point à Callières, he gave the name of "Place Royale" to this spot.

As the English speaking people of Montreal have allowed the ancient Protestant Burying Ground on Dorchester Street to remain unhonoured and without the slightest memorial, reverently to mark what it once was, the proposition to create a memento of Champlain's landing by calling the spot "Place Royale," as he named it, may meet with disregard on their part. To attain such a result, the hope must lie with some Canadian of French descent, who treasures each landmark of former days. It would be a fit duty for some son of "Laval," to act in the spirit which has led that University to give to the world the celebrated edition of Champlain's works, to re-establish Champlain's claim as the true founder of

Accordingly he drew up a Memoir asking for exclusive privileges, so that means for the continuance of the enterprise could be obtained if the State were to give neither help nor encouragement. Neither France nor England foresaw what the continent of America was to become. Champlain felt the necessity of obtaining some powerful protection. He addressed himself to Charles de Bourbon, Count de Soissons, Governor of Dauphiny and Normandy. De Soissons accepted the position, the petition was sent to the Regent who appointed de Soissons Governor and Lieutenant-General, de Soissons deputing Champlain as his Lieutenant. If the commission of Champlain as set forth in the Edition of 1632, be genuine, the Indians were to be instructed in the Roman Catholic faith.* But in no way was the principle laid down which Bishop de Laval† tried to establish, that every one not of that faith was to be excluded from the country. De Soissons' commission is dated 3rd October, 1612. On the following 1st November the new Lieutenant-Governor died. His place was immediately supplied by Henri de Bourbon, Prince de Condé, then Governor of Guyenne. His commission is dated 22nd November of the same year. Champlain's position was confirmed. The rapidity with which these appointments were made establishes the influence Champlain had obtained, and which was entirely due to his own character and career. The exclusive conditions of the principle on which the Royal Commission was granted led to every effort being made to obtain its revocation. From Dieppe to La Rochelle every trader was in arms against it; but all attempt to obtain its abrogation failed. The one conces-

Montreal, he having led the way for others to follow in his path. By giving the name of "Place Royale" to the locality where he landed, a memorial of his selection would be preserved. And what place could be more appropriate for a statue of the founder of Canada?

* p. 433, 1073.

† Canadian Archives Report 1885, p. civ., M. Dudouyt à Mgr. de Laval 'Je commence par celuy des huguenots et lui (Colbert) dis qu'il Estoit important que les huguenots ne Sestablissent et n'hyvernassent pas en Canada . . . que l'édit du Roi portoit qu'ils ne s'y Establiroient point.'

sion obtained was, that every person who desired to enter into the combination should be permitted to do so. Normandy still continued its opposition. The Court of Rouen declined to register the commission, raising the question of Provincial rights. The claim was not allowed; accordingly the necessary preparations were made for leaving France, early the following year.

CHAPTER V.

Champlain started on his voyage of 1613 and arrived at "Sault St. Louys." He found the Indians present in some numbers, desirous of proceeding on the War Path. He was unable to accompany them to their disappointment and much to his own regret. He found that during the year he was in France the traders had caused much mischief, and that their ill-judged proceedings had threatened even the continuance of the trade. This intelligence confirmed Champlain in the design which he had formed of ascending the Ottawa. Accordingly he asked for three canoes and three Indians, so that he could make the trip. All that he could obtain was two canoes and one Indian.

The circumstance which led Champlain to leave France before his arrangements were completed, was the report of one Nicholas de Vignau, who had returned from Canada in 1612. He stated that he had reached Hudson's Bay, having ascended the Ottawa to its source, a large lake; and thence by a portage he gained a stream by which he had descended to Hudson's Bay. He described a wreck of an English vessel which he had seen on the shore, with the heads of eighty of the crew who had been killed by the Indians. He represented the spot as being within fifteen days of the "Sault St. Louys." The possibility of such an event agreed with what Champlain himself had heard from the Indians; accordingly he lost no time in submitting the statement to the Chancellor de Sillery, the Marshal de Brisac, and President Jeannin, the leaders in the enterprise. They were unanimously of opinion that Champlain should proceed to Canada to examine into the truth of the statement. Even when in Montreal, De Vignau persevered in his story. Champlain proceeded on his way, taking Vignau with him to reach what is now known as

Allumette Island. In those days it was spoken of as "the Island," an important spot in the Ottawa navigation. That river was then the one route through which Lake Huron was reached, and so remained until about 1660, when the Saint Lawrence was followed to Lake Ontario. The mission of the Bay of Quinté was established in 1668.

There are few troublesome rapids in the Ottawa until Portage du Fort is reached.* It is well to remark that there never was a fort at this place, but in eight miles there is the great height of ninety-eight feet to be encountered. The expression must be credited to the early Canadian *voyageur*. It means the portage of the strong man, from the great tax on his strength and endurance. The Indian trail on the south side was less exacting. By passing at the southern neck of the Township of Westmeath, which projects so as to form a peninsula to the north, a series of lakes, known as the Musk Rat Lakes are met, leading to the river discharging at Pembroke, into what is now known as Lake Allumette, to the north of which lies the island known in modern times as Allumette Island. It was at this spot that Champlain found the Algonquin chief, Tessouat, whom he knew. The chief was surprised and delighted to receive a visit from Champlain. When he heard that its object was to proceed to the North Sea described by Vignau, he was the more astonished. He knew Vignau, and that the limit of his wanderings had been the spot where they stood. Convicted of his fraud, the man threw himself at Champlain's feet and confessed his imposture. He had invented the story in order to be rewarded in France, and to be sent back to Canada, and he had trusted to be able to place himself out of reach before his story was found to be false. The Indians, while they reproached Champlain for

* The Rapids on the Ottawa to Portage du Fort, are as follow :—

	Distance from head Lachine Canal.	Length.	Height.
St. Anne's	15 miles.	$\frac{1}{2}$ mile.	3 feet.
Longue Sault, Chute au Blondeau et Carillon...	36 "	12 "	48 "
Chaudière	101 "	6 "	67 "
Chats	135 "	3 "	50 "
Calumets Rapids [above Portage du Fort].....	164 "	8 "	98 "

failing to believe in them, were desirous of torturing and burning Vignau. He, however, was not given over to their mercies, but was taken back to the Sault. Planting on Allumette Island a white cedar cross with the Arms of France, Champlain gave it in charge to the Indians, with the guarantee that if they preserved it they should not be assailed by their enemies, and further made a promise to return the following year, and accompany them on a war expedition. On the 10th June he left for the Sault. He there met M. de Maisonneuve, who was the bearer of a licence from the Prince for three vessels, to trade to Canada. On the 27th he left the future Montreal, with M. de Maisonneuve, to arrive at St. Malo at the end of August, 1613.

On Champlain's return to France negotiations were resumed and completed. A company was formed, composed of the leading men of Rouen and Saint Malo. So much delay arose in La Rochelle that the company was established independently of the citizens of that place.

Champlain, in the account of his succeeding voyage has at some length entered into the circumstances which led to the presence of the Recollet Fathers in Canada. I have said that the internal evidence is convincing that the Edition of 1632 is not the entire work of Champlain. One of the facts to sustain this view is that the account of these negotiations is entirely suppressed, and altogether in the interest of the Jesuits. At that date the opinions dominating in the French Court were to the effect that Protestantism was representative of doctrines antagonistic to personal government; and that the only means of enforcing religious teaching was by means of the ecclesiastical orders. Moreover, the patent of the Prince of Condé required that some such step should be taken. Of the necessity of religious instruction to influence such of the Indian population as might be induced to turn to agriculture, as a pursuit, Champlain was himself convinced. He tells us that he would have felt it, a matter of reproach, if he had failed to endeavour to obtain it. Personally to extend such assistance was beyond his resources. No one came forward to help or encourage

him. Discussing the difficulties of his position he was recommended by the Sieur Louis Houel, director of the salt works at Brouage, to apply to the Recollets. Negotiations to carry out this view took place in 1614. The head of the Order had some doubts as to his power to accept the duty, and hence did not receive the proposition with entire favour. The question was referred to the Papal Nuncio, who pronounced that the application must be made to the General of the Recollets. Champlain remained in France during 1614, so that the decision was adjourned.

It was on the 10th October, 1614, that the opening of the States General took place at Sens. Several ecclesiastics of rank were present. The matter was discussed by them. The Provincial, du Verger, had learned to look upon the proposition in a more friendly spirit. It obtained special favour with the Cardinals and Bishops present. Champlain personally appealed to them. The consequence was that authority was given for the voyage, and fifteen hundred livrs> subscribed towards the expense of the outfit of the Fathers.

In February, Champlain went to Rouen to meet his associates. Many of them were Calvinists. He explained to them that the Prince of Condé desired that the Recollets should proceed to Canada, that some religious instruction should be given to the Indians, and that the affairs of the country could not prosper unless the service of God was attended to. The proposition was cordially welcomed, and it was resolved to support and provide for the Recollets.*

The Recollets proceeded to Rouen in March, 1615, thence to Honfleur. The preparations for departure were here completed, Champlain making the necessary purchases with the money placed in his hands: each one, according to his conscience, being eager, under the protection of God, to expose himself to the mercy of the waves of the great and perilous sea.[†]

* Dequoy nos associez furent fort contens promettans d'assister lesdits Peres de leur pouuoir & les entretenir à l'aduenir de leur nourritures. P. 496.

† Page 497.

The vessel left Honfleur on the 24th April, to arrive at Tadousac on the 25th May, 1615. Champlain with one of the Recollet Fathers went immediately to Quebec : the remainder followed in a few days. There were three priests and a lay brother. Fathers Jamay, D'Olban and Le Caron, with Brother Du Plessis. A spot was assigned for a church and a place of residence selected for the fathers. The church was established at what is now called Cul de Sac. It was so rapidly run up that mass was performed there on the 25th June. These duties completed, Champlain proceeded to carry out the object of his expedition to visit the Huron Indians in their own territory, to establish with them a firm alliance of friendship and amity, and by aiding them in their wars to prove that the alliance was honest and genuine. He had found the Indians powerful and prosperous. It was by their aid, he had resolved to establish French power on the Continent ; and it was not by half measures or broken promises that he could retain their allegiance.

Father Le Caron, or as he is called by Champlain, Père Joseph, impatient to commence his labours proceeded onwards to examine the country as far as the Sault. Champlain followed him. The father returned to Quebec for some church ornaments. Champlain on his way to the Sault met him. He found several Indians assembled there, from whom he learned that the usual Iroquois war was going on. He determined to assist them. Previous to starting with them it was incumbent on him to proceed to Quebec. On his way thither at the junction of the River des Prairies—in itself a branch of the Ottawa—with the Saint Lawrence, he met Fathers Le Caron and Jamay. All of them went ashore, a temporary altar was constructed, and mass was for the first time performed in Canada, on the 24th June, the feast of Saint John the Baptist. Champlain proceeded to Quebec, and after some days interval, on the 4th July, he started to return to the Sault. Some miles above Sorel, he met Pontgravé and Father Jamay returning to Quebec. Champlain had given the Indians to understand that he would be absent but four

or five days. Ten days had passed without his arrival. The Indians accordingly believed that he was dead, or taken by the Iroquois. They had therefore started homewards and Father Le Caron with twelve Frenchmen went with them. Father Le Caron must have felt greatly embarrassed, a stranger in the country with limited provisions and believing in the possibility of some accident having happened to Champlain. Such was Pontgravé's report. On Champlain's arrival at the Sault on the 8th he found the fact to be as stated. On the 9th he followed the Indians, proceeding by the River des Prairies, to reach directly the Lake of the Two Mountains, continuing his journey westward. He describes the soil, the nature of the timber, and dwells on the abundance of raspberries and blueberries: using for the first time the word "bluet."^{*} These fruits were grateful to him. He tells us the people here dry these fruits for winter "the same as we do prunes in France for Lent." He makes a note when he leaves the Ottawa for the River Matawan and points out that it was by the main stream of the Ottawa the Indians found their way to the Saguenay which river they descended to Tadousac, to trade for furs and tobacco.

In his description of Portage du Fort in 1613, Champlain described the latitude at $46\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$. This record has created some embarrassment. We obtain a satisfactory explanation if we admit that Champlain made an error of a degree: the latitude of Portage du Fort is $45^{\circ} 36'$. At this point he crossed to the south of the river. His language on this occasion is worthy of record. "We had great difficulty in making our way by land, being myself loaded with three arquebuses, as many paddles, with my coat and *quelques petites bagatelles*, I encouraged my people, who were a trifle more laden, and who suffered from the mosquitoes more than from their loads." The party passed four small lakes, traceable on the map in the Township of Ross. Having travelled two leagues and a half, it became impossible for them to continue, from fatigue.

* The French Academy declines to this day to admit this word, in the sense in which Champlain uses it. In Canada it is everywhere accepted.

They had had nothing to eat for twenty-four hours, having left their provisions behind them to save the trouble of *portage*, and in order to take them on their return, had made a *câche* of them. Their theory on starting was, that in a few hours they would reach the object of their expedition, Allumette Island, where they would obtain the provisions they would require. On the 16th July they made their way to Musk Rat Lake ; and it is at a point between their camp and the Lake that in August, 1867, an astrolabe was found on Lot 12, 2nd Range of the Township of Ross. There cannot be a doubt that it is the astrolabe of Champlain, found two centuries and a half after its loss. No further observations are recorded after the 6th. He places Allumette Island about 47° , basing it on his record of the observation made at Portage du Fort, which was wrong by a degree, the error, therefore, was continued. He does not correct his observation in the expedition of 1615. It is possible that he never himself knew his error. The latitudes of the Matawan and of Lake Nipissing are correctly given, and in two lines he tells us that he then ascended a river with many *petits saults*, sometimes by land, sometimes by water, until he gained Lake Attigouantan, Lake Huron. In 1608, Champlain had visited the Lake which bears his name, Lake Champlain, and was the first to sail on its waters ; in the expedition I am describing he discovered Lake Huron and Lake Ontario.

They left the mouth of the French river and coasted along the eastern shores of Georgian Bay, till Matchedash Bay was reached. Champlain describes the route : " We crossed a Bay and made some seven leagues, until we arrived at the country of the Attigouantan, at a village named Otouacha." If distance be any guide, the place must have been Waubashene ; some writers place the locality at Thunder Bay, to the west of Penetanguishene waters. Champlain was now in the Huron country. He passed from village to village. At Carhagouha he met Father Le Caron. The father was astonished at seeing Champlain, who he feared had been lost. He was there, however, carrying out his policy and with his soldiers

he was aiding the Indians to prepare for war. He had built a church, the first constructed in the Huron country ; the second dates from 1623, the third was that of the Jesuits in 1635. During fourteen days Champlain made a progress through these villages, some of them of importance. At Carhagouha he remained ten days and passed to Lake Couchiching. The village of Cahagué must have been near this locality. It is mentioned by Champlain as within three leagues of these waters.

The party now proceeded on their expedition. From Lake Couchiching, somewhere in the neighbourhood of Orillia, they crossed Lake Simcoe. They landed and made a portage to Lake Sturgeon. There can be little doubt of the route, for Champlain describes the portage thence from the lake, "the Indians carried their canoes by land for two leagues," approximately the distance. They descended by Sturgeon Lake into the series of lakes known as the Trent River Navigation, through the Otonabee River, past Peterborough, and by the River Trent entering the Bay of Quinté at the site of the present town of Trenton. The bay was followed until Lake Ontario was met. Lake Ontario was thus discovered by Champlain in his ascent of the Ottawa. He perfectly recognised its true character, but assigned to it a greater extent than it possesses. The first white man to stand upon its shores, Champlain speaks of the country as being without population, remarking that in past ages it had been inhabited by races who, from fear of their enemies, had been forced to abandon it. From the position of trees on the banks of the stream, he inferred that they had been planted according to the taste of the former population. In their route they obtained bear and deer, indeed all sorts of venison. There were a number of birds on the now desert river. The party journeyed by an easy daily advance, until they reached the lake ; Champlain calls it Entouhoronon. Among the Islands, his recorded observation is 43° of latitude ; undoubtedly a mistake of a degree, Kingston being in latitude $44^{\circ} 15'$. Champlain, tracing his advance by the River Ottawa

to Lake Huron, thence to Lake Simcoe, thence to Lake Ontario, felt convinced that he was in the waters of the Saint Lawrence, which flowed to the Sault above Montreal, and he so records the opinion.

It will be difficult to establish where the expedition crossed to the south shore ; Champlain describes the length of the journey as fourteen leagues. He speaks of the islands he met. Any one who has made a passage in a canoe, on a lake, knows that the length of the navigation in time depends on the weather. If the day be fine, with little wind, and the water is quiet and no fear of storm, long traverses are made, much as in winter on the river when the ice is good, we drive boldly from headland to headland, to lessen the distance ; when it is bad, we keep close to the beaten track. That he passed somewhere near Amherst Island is probable, whether to the east or west, must be a matter of surmise. There is no fact to guide us. They reached the present town of Oswego, and made four days' journey by land until they reached an Iroquois lake, frequented by that people for fishing. Champlain was in front of a town of the Senecas, one of the five nations, and not inferior to any in courage. This town has been variously described by some as Onondaga, by others as in the neighbourhood of Lake Canandaigua. Absolute identification is not possible. An attack was made upon the intrenched town. It failed, even with the aid of the arquebuses of the French. Champlain was himself wounded in the knee and leg with arrows. After some hours waiting for allies who never came, the Indians from the Huron country retreated, taking themselves to their canoes, which they had concealed. Champlain was desirous of returning by the Saint Lawrence. Four of the Indians offered to accompany him. The difficulty lay in obtaining canoes, there being an unwillingness to furnish them. The facts appear to have been, that the Indians were desirous of retaining Champlain among them, for their own purposes. It was now the last days of October, and no alternative presented itself to Champlain, but to return to the Huron country and winter there.

It is not possible to follow the return route of Champlain. He tells us, after having traversed the end of that lake, they followed a river for some twelve leagues, then they carried their canoes for half a league, to a lake ten or twelve miles in circumference. There is no locality closely answering to this description.* The difficulty is in the small lake rather than the river; for north of Amherst Island the waters would be regarded as a river. Here the party established themselves for the purpose of hunting. They remained until the 4th December, when the navigation was closed by the frost. They travelled on foot with their loads on hand sleighs, and it is plain that Champlain returned by a route different to that by which he came.

On reaching the Huron country Champlain immediately proceeded to the village where Father Le Caron had established himself, studying the language, teaching and baptising. Champlain proposed that they should visit the nation of the "Petun" and the "Cheveux-relevés" as he calls them. During his sojourn with these races, he studied their customs and manners, as was his habit; and endeavoured to establish with them, relations of amity and trade. He found them more cleanly than other races. The toilet of the men was exceedingly simple. They had no clothing of any kind in summer; even in winter, only a fur robe was worn as a cloak. He gives an account, at some length, of these people. He remained in the Huron country until the end of April. Fishing and hunting as they went, accompanied by several Indians he took his way eastward, and arrived safely at the Sault. He had been absent from his friends an entire year. Pont-

* The only locality which in any way suggests itself is the narrow neck of land in the County of Lennox, near the post village of Sillsville. The Huron canoes would then have followed the channel between Amherst Island and the mainland; the portage being taken opposite the western end of the island, to the eastern branch of the waters of the Bay of Quinte. These waters terminate at Fredericksburgh, thence they continue westerly, passing to Picton, the River Napanee, Belleville and Trenton. At the eastern limit there is an irregular basin of water, of a triangular form, four miles at its base, three miles wide at the widest part. To some extent it answers the description given.

gravé with the Recollets received him with the greater satisfaction as he had been thought to be dead. He lost no time in proceeding to Quebec. A religious service was held in which all together returned thanks to God for preserving them from so many dangers.*

He had taken with him the Indian chief Arontal, and shewed him what good cheer † the place could afford. This chief must have been a man of ability and observation. He expressed the desire to accommodate himself to civilisation, and pointed out that if he and his generation could not accept the conditions of the new life, their children could do so. He urged the necessity of making a settlement at Sault Saint Louis. Even at that early date the advantages of the geographical position of Montreal were understood, and the steps taken by Champlain, limited as they were from the circumstances in which he was placed, may be accepted as the true date of the foundation of the city. After the departure of Arontal, Champlain caused the buildings of Quebec to be extended at least a third. As he proposed to return to France, Father Le Caron determined to accompany him. Champlain carried with him to France some of the grain raised in the country, to show the fertility of the land : the first of the many exhibitions of Canadian produce authoritatively displayed in Europe. In his report of the voyage, published in 1619, he sets forth that in Canada the vegetables, the trees and the plants are of admirable beauty, and with this promising condition of everything in Canada firm in his mind, he started for France.

* tous ensemble rendismes graces à Dieu avec nos Peres Religieux qui chantent le seruice diuin, en le remerciant du soing qu'il auoit eu de nous conseruer & preseruer de tant de perils & dangers où nous estions trouuez. [p. 592.]

† Bonne chère. Ib.

CHAPTER VI.

The voyage made by Champlain in 1617 is remarkable, as on that occasion the commencement of actual settlement took place. Those who had previously visited Canada had been traders and adventurers. What white men remained with the Indians affected their mode of life, which always possessed considerable attraction for the adventurous French *voyageur*, to the extent of producing a class ; the *courieur de bois*. The population at this date, at Quebec, was between fifty and sixty French, all connected with the traffic of the day. The addition which was made to this small number was the Sieur Hébert, with his family. Within a year after his arrival the first marriage took place. Anne Hébert, the eldest daughter, married Etienne Jonquest, a Norman. His second daughter was afterwards married to the Sieur Couillard. Le Clerq tells us that in 1691 there were two hundred descendants of Hébert, and that nine hundred persons in Canada were allied to the family.

No account of the voyage of 1617 was published by Champlain. The last publication of his voyages, thoroughly authenticated, is that of 1618. The Memoir, with a narrative of his further voyages, given to Richelieu during the negotiations for the restoration of Quebec, in 1630-31, and according to the writer's theory, embodied in the editions of 1632, 1640, is so altered to suit the views of its Editors, and its style in many places is so at variance with that of Champlain that, as a whole, it presents a stamp totally different from writings given by Champlain directly to the world.

In 1618 Champlain returned to Canada. He found the community depressed. Father Le Caron was at Quebec. Father Huet was labouring in his mission at Tadousac. Brother Du Plessis was at Three Rivers. Sagard speaks of the dwellers

at Quebec as half dead with hunger and depressed with weakness. There had been a threatened attack by Indians at Three Rivers, but the danger had passed away. Two of the settlers had been murdered between Cape Tourmente and Quebec, and dread of reprisals had led the Indians to abandon communication with the French ; subsequently, a better understanding was established. It is evident, however, that the dread of the French did not exercise its former repressing influence. Their weakness in number and resources was beginning to be better understood. On his arrival, Champlain visited the gardens and the land cultivated by Hébert. He speaks of his visit with much satisfaction. Indeed, Champlain's interest in all bearing upon the cultivation of the ground, is always visible. In gardens he took a peculiar delight. He gives a list of the vegetables which had been produced much as we would find them in a modern market ; the grape also was under cultivation. Nevertheless, while he had words of praise for these individual results ; with regard to the general community established at Quebec, he could trace little zeal and effort.*

Champlain proceeded to Three Rivers ; a great many Indians were present. They received him with their old respect and affection, and asked for his help in their wars. Champlain replied that he had not changed his feelings on the subject. He reminded them how they had failed to attend with the requisite number of men, in the attack on the Seneca village ; and that, consequently, he and his force had been compelled to retreat without effecting any good result. He pointed out that the assassination of the two Frenchmen led him to consider what course he should take. The chiefs offered to sacrifice the supposed murderers. Champlain would not, however, permit of this rude proceeding. The matter of the attack Champlain declared must be deferred to another occasion. He counselled the Indians next year to attend in force, and promised, on his part, to apply to the King for the

* Mais ce qui manque à ce beau desseign est le peu de zelle, & affection, que l'on a au bien & seruice du Roy. p. 617.

men and the means, efficiently to assist them, so that they could obtain the peace they desired.* On the other hand, Champlain saw clearly the difficulties which would arise, by not exacting satisfaction for the murder of the two Frenchmen. He was in no way a cruel man, indeed the reverse. He had, however, learned the painful political fact that, with a barbarous people, a solemn and exacted satisfaction of an injury is a necessity. He felt that some serious retaliation was called for, other than that of mere words of complaint on one side and of apology on the other. Sagard relates how a naked sword was thrown into the middle of the river to prove that all memory of the crime was washed away. The Hurons, when they got to their own country, laughed at the ceremony and exclaimed that the death of a Frenchman could be atoned for by a dozen beaver skins. Champlain was, on his side, restrained by the reflection that if vengeance were taken on the Indians near Quebec, that there would be no safety for those who went on any journey of exploration. Accordingly, for the time, the matter rested, and it was got over in the best way possible.

In the autumn, Champlain returned to France, taking leave of the settlement, with God's help† to return with a good number of families to people the country.

The Company had not prospered. In 1616, its head, the Prince of Condé, had been arrested for participation in the events of the past six years, in the King's minority. Consequently the position of Lieutenant du Roi was given to Marechal de Thémire. A difficulty grew out of this appointment. The associates were, however, informed that the establishment at Quebec had to be extended and repaired, and additional families sent out to till the soil. The Company laid down some regulations on the subject,‡ which were submitted

* Page 619.

† Page 630.

‡ Voicy vn bel acheminement sans profit : car le tout s'en alla en fumée par ie ne scay quels accidents, & Dieu ne permit pas que ces articles eussent lieu.—[P. 968].

to the Council, ‘but the whole ended in smoke.’ The arrest of Condé furnished the opportunity for an attack against Champlain. One Boyer stood forward to appear for the Company to protest against his position of Lieutenant. The attempt was unsustained; so Champlain started on his voyage of 1617.

In 1618 the rights of the Company were again assailed. The attempt was made to gain Free trade with Canada for Brittany. Without any inquiry into the merits of the case, the claim was granted. Champlain, however, protested against the decision, and it was referred to Commissioners. The decision was reversed. The merchants of Brittany were denied the right of dealing in furs without the consent of the Society. Nevertheless, the associates saw difficulty in the future and feared that they would be called upon to perform duties above their resources ; especially in the shape of settling the country. Champlain’s own view was that Canada should be made self-sustaining, that no provisions should be brought from France ; and he knew that result could only be obtained by an industrious population which could cultivate the soil. The associates were unable to see the wisdom of this policy. They feared that settlement would diminish their influence and drive away trade with the Indians. So nothing was done. Under fine pretexts, wonders were promised with little execution.*

The associates met and drew up a statement setting forth the future strength of the establishment. There were to be eighty persons, including the chief, three Recollet fathers, officers, workmen and labourers. The memorandum is dated 11th January, 1619. With this force the associates expected to hold Canada. The matter was laid before the Council and obtained its approval ; while other propositions which had been made to the government from Brittany, La Rochelle and even St. Jean de Luz, were not entertained. The year 1619 passed away without any effort. The narrative of 1632 informs us, that the people of La Rochelle still carried on a

* p. 973.

trade with Canada, in spite of the prohibition. When a messenger was sent to La Rochelle to take proceedings in the matter, the Mayor remarked, "It is not a slight favour which I do you to tell you to be quiet. For if the people knew you were here to execute the orders of the Council, they would drown you in the Port."*

New arrangements were now entered into with Champlain. He was still the Vice-Regal Lieutenant. The Company determined that he should continue his discoveries and that Pontgravé should have control of the commercial policy of the associates, and to have the direction of the persons employed. Champlain bitterly placing on record the sense he entertained of the ill treatment he was experiencing from the associates, determined, nevertheless, to proceed to Quebec, taking his wife with him. He maintained, moreover, that as Lieutenant of the Prince, it was his right to command in Quebec, excepting in the magazines of the company, which were under the control of the first clerk. That it was not for the Company to determine with regard to future discoveries, and when it was, in his opinion, proper to continue them as in the past, he would carry them on.†

He expressed his regard and attachment for Pontgravé. It was evident that there was nothing personal or petulant in the self-assertion of Champlain on this occasion. More fully to shew that the position which he assumed was one of duty, he submitted the *brevêt* of the king.‡ calling upon the associates to assist the Sieur De Champlain in the execution of the royal commands, given him for the performance of all he deemed necessary in the establishment of the colony, "For such is our pleasure" are its concluding words. The Company, however, simply referred Champlain to the letter written by them, shewing how old the date is of the official mind.

* p. 977.

† Que pour les descouvertes ce n'estoit point à eux de me donner la loy : que ie les faisois, quand ie voyois l'occurrence des temps propres à cet effect comme i'auois fait par le passé. [pp. 979-80.]

‡ It is dated 12th March, 1618. It is given in full p. 980.

Champlain accordingly returned to Paris, and obtained a positive order that he should command at Quebec as elsewhere, and that he should not be interfered with. It was served upon the Company in the Bourse at Rouen.

In October, 1619, Condé was released; after a short interval to transfer his Vice-Royalty to M. de Montmorency. M. Dolu was appointed Intendant, to introduce some management into the affairs of the Company. Champlain was continued in his Lieutenancy. But further difficulty was raised. A letter which he addressed to de Montmorency obtained a full recognition of Champlain's position. He was, however, instructed to build a fort, and was told that His Majesty would give arms and munitions for its defence. There was also a protest against this policy: finally, it was accepted. So Champlain departed, receiving, as he was leaving, a letter from the king assuring him that his services were highly appreciated, bidding him maintain the country in obedience, and to have the care required for the Catholic religion.*

On the 8th May, 1620, Champlain left France with his wife, then twenty years of age. Her brother had started a month earlier, and we are told he was astonished to see her.† We may therefore infer that it was a sudden determination on her part to accompany her husband. He found two La Rochelle vessels trading, in spite of the prohibition. Champlain accuses them of giving guns and ammunition to the Indians. The first arming of the savage was then by the French traders,‡ and not by the Dutch at New York, as in after years was affirmed. At Quebec, he learned the death of Frère du Plessis and of Hébert's eldest daughter, Madame Jonquest. He found the buildings in a bad condition; the workmen having been taken to construct the house of the Recollets, situated on the spot now occupied by the General Hospital; and also a

* Dated, Paris, 7th May, 1620. *y ayant le soin qui est requis de la Religion Catholique afin que vous attiriez par ce moyen la benediction diuine sur vous qui fera reüssir vos entreprises & actions à la gloire de Dieu.* [p. 984.]

† p. 986.

‡ p. 986.

building for Hébert. He attended the religious services of the Recollets, to return thanks to God, the only religious service he could attend. Père Jamay delivered a sermon exhorting obedience to the authorities of whom Champlain was the representative. His commission he himself read on a public parade, taking possession of the "habitation" and country in the name of the king. Le Guers he sent to Three Rivers. He now commenced to repair the dwelling, the dilapidation of which he records. Equally he commenced the construction of a fort. The site was the present Durham terrace, from which one of the most striking landscapes in the world can be seen. It was selected with the eye of a soldier, for it commands the river in its narrowest part; at his own day and that of Kirke, who owned its possession to the starving condition of Champlain's garrison, it was held to be impregnable.* The associates looked upon the expenditure as a waste of money. Champlain felt that the safety of New France depended on the creation of the fortress to withstand every attack, and that, in the national point of view, there were higher considerations beyond the immediate profits arising from the expedition, and he so tells us. Pontgravé liked the new condition of things as little as his associates, so he started for France. Champlain continued his repairs, in some instances performing the work with stone. Thus he passed the winter, with a population of sixty men, women, ecclesiastics and children, all keeping in good health, except one man injured by the fall of a tree, who died miserably.

May of 1621 brought letters from France. One from the King, expressing his satisfaction, and informing Champlain that the munitions desired had been granted. A second from de Montmorency,† signing himself "*vostre plus affectionné &*

* The Kirkes reported the fort to be impregnable. "The fort well situated, able to withstand 10,000 men. If the king retain it, we do not care what French or any other can do, tho' they have 100 ships and 10,000 men."

Col. Off. Papers Callendar, 1574-1660, p. 139.

† 2 February, 1621, [p. 995].

parfait amy." It set forth that the associates of Rouen and Saint Malo, had been excluded from the trade of New France, and the Sieurs de Caen, with their partners, had been placed in charge. The elder Guillaume de Caen was a merchant: the nephew Emeric, a sea captain. They were Huguenots. Dolu, the Intendant, also desired Champlain, in the name of the King, to take possession of the merchandise in the store. The reason assigned was that the Company had failed to fulfil the conditions of settlement.

The news was received at Quebec with disfavour. There was even a half proposal, for those who were present, to resist the proceeding. Champlain was powerless to enforce the order in the event of any general opposition. Therefore, when the leaders of the movement addressed him, to know how they would be paid the money due them, he replied that he would take no steps until the arrival of de Caen, and he immediately sent Du May to Tadousac to meet de Caen and ask for reinforcements. On the 3rd June, Du May arrived in a boat, in which he had obtained a passage, having left his men at Tadousac. Champlain learned that a vessel had arrived at that place with a crew of sixty-five men, and with all the clerks of the old Company desirous of knowing how they would be employed: Pontgravé was with them. Champlain had but twelve men in the fort, and he sent immediately for the eighteen from Tadousac. He obtained four additional from the Recollets. He placed his brother-in-law Bouillé in the fort with twelve men, victualling the place and fortifying it the best way attainable. He himself remained at the habitation with twenty men. In a few days the vessel of the old associates arrived. It looked as if there were to be civil war in the small settlement. Champlain raised his drawbridge and placed his men under arms. The new comers were received by Guers, who had accompanied Champlain from Paris, possibly as a Commissioner, but in some official position and by the Recollet Father le Baillif, a man of some force of character, possessing the confidence of de Montmorency, whom Champlain had been requested to consult in matters of im-

portance. Thus summoned, the agents of the old company stated that they had come to take possession of their property, an appeal having been made against the late proceedings. Champlain, when the matter was submitted to him, agreed to receive five of their number, to whom merchandise should be given to continue the trade on the Saint Lawrence. The new comers applied for arms. Champlain declined to furnish them. They applied for the beaver skins in the magazine. Champlain refused to give them until he was furnished with provisions brought out in the ship. They demanded also that the fort should be vacated, which Champlain likewise refused to accede to. The firm attitude of Champlain had its effect. The party peaceably departed on their trip to Three Rivers, and the same day Champlain sent Du May in a boat with six men to meet de Caen, explaining the situation and asking to be reinforced.

Pontgravé arrived the week following : he did not sustain his Lieutenant in the proceedings taken. He affirmed that his instructions had been to obey any authenticated order in Council. He entirely approved of the course followed by Champlain and in this spirit he started for Three Rivers. Shortly after de Caen arrived at Tadousac and requested Champlain to join him. As it was not possible for Champlain to do so, de Caen sent one of his staff with a letter to Quebec, the purport of which was that both societies were to be allowed to carry on the traffic during 1621. No vessel was to leave France without authority of the Admiral ; the expense of the settlement of Quebec, including that of the maintenance of the Recollets to be equally divided.

Father le Baillif started for Tadousac to make what arrangements were possible with de Caen, and to satisfy him with regard to Fathers Huet and Poulain, who were in France, having returned there in 1618, to seek assistance to establish a Seminary at Quebec. De Caen had obtained some letters written by these fathers to his disadvantage and endeavouring to set his crew against him. Le Baillif sent word to Champlain that de Caen had determined to seize the vessel of Pont-

gravé. It was an embarrassing position to Champlain. He was desirous of remaining at Quebec, for he felt his presence to be necessary, but the threatened difficulties at Tadousac exacted that he should proceed thither. He wrote accordingly that he would be at Tadousac in nine days, and he started in a boat obtained from Pontgravé and met de Caen on board the vessel he had seized from Pontgravé near the Point aux Alouettes above Quebec.

The position of Champlain was changed. He was the Lieutenant of the king, and it was now his duty to render justice between the rival Companies. Whatever courtesies were interchanged, the interview was not satisfactory. De Caen refused to submit his written instructions to Champlain, and persisted in his determination to seize Pontgravé's vessel, in order that he might carry on his operations against his enemies in the river. Champlain pointed out that he had force of his own sufficient for that purpose, and offered himself to conduct any operations which were necessary. De Caen pleaded his instructions. The matter was arranged by de Caen sending a man who technically took possession of the vessel. De Caen eventually furnished Champlain with provisions; some arms and munitions were also received. Shortly afterwards Pontgravé started for France, accompanied by Father le Baillif, to communicate with the Sieur Dolu, the Intendant.

It was at this date that Champlain sent away two families from Canada, whom he held to be idle and worthless. They had done nothing but "hunt, fish and sleep." They were butchers and needle makers; certainly callings at that date little demanded at Quebec.*

Champlain tells us that he published some ordinances for the good government of the country. His object was to point out the line of duty to be followed; they have not come down to us. Further, he wrote to the Intendant Dolu, informing him what had taken place, so that peace would be preserved in the future. Sagard also informs us that Father

* p. 1019.

le Baillif was the bearer of a petition, agreed to at a general meeting of Quebec. Champlain makes no allusion to it.

Is this petition genuine? That Champlain may have countenanced a meeting to consider the means to meet the peculiar position of the country is possible; but to make Champlain assert that he only lived for the preservation of the Roman Catholic Church is to accredit to him a sentiment he never uttered, and is in accord with no one sentence he ever placed on record of which we have authentic proof. It is not a mere ecclesiastical expression, the antiquity of which is the cause of its continuance at this date. Ceremonial usages are frequently retained from the theoretical danger of disturbing them. The words in question constitute a confession of faith voluntary and not exacted, and if not dishonest must be the genuine sentiment of the utterer. The narrative does not exist in the edition of 1632. The Editors of that edition had little love for the Recollets and undoubtedly were devoted to the Jesuits and, the record being known to them, it is so in accord with their ideas and theories that it would not have been passed over by them. Sagard's history of Canada was not published till 1636, a year after Champlain's death. Doubtless, the worthy Father believed that the petition was written as he published it. To my mind, if genuine, three words have been intercalated which were not in the original. They appear in one place only. In place of *la religion Chrestienne*; the words read *la religion Catholique, Apostolique et Romaine*. They change the whole purport of the document. "*La religion Chrestienne*" is named in a subsequent part of the petition. Was this the original expression used in the first sentence? With this phrase we have a sentiment in accord with the temperate character of Champlain, and no such phrase, as that intercalated here, can be traced in any other of his writings. The Petition implored the protection of the Court and empowered the Father le Baillif to act for those who signed it. We have the argument against its genuineness in the silence of Champlain on the subject. Le Baillif had acted with him and was his friend. All the

details of the late negotiations were given in full by him. There was no reason traceable to-day, why the fact of the petition should be suppressed, and moreover, with Champlain's influence with the Court, there was no necessity for any such Petition to be sent.

The following is the petition. Sagard's History of Canada, pp. 73, et seq.
To all whom it may concern.

Be it known—That in the year of grace 1621, the 18th day of August, of the reign of the most high, most powerful and most Christian Monarch, Louis XIII., King of France, of Navarre, and of New France, called West France, of the government of the high and mighty Seigneur, Messire Henry, Duke of Montmorency and Dampville, Peer and Admiral of France, and Lieutenant-General for the King in Languedoc, and Viceroy of the country and lands of the New France, called West France; of the Lieutenancy of the nobleman, Samuel de Champlain, Captain in ordinary in the navy of the king, Lieutenant-General of the said country and lands of the said Viceroy: that by permission of the said Lieutenant, a general assembly of all the French inhabitants of this country of New France has been held, in order to consider the means the most proper in the case of the ruin and desolation of this whole country, and to seek the means of preserving the *Catholic, Apostolic and Roman religion* [query, Christian] in its entirety, the authority of the king inviolable, and the obedience due to the said Lord Viceroy, after which, in the presence of the Sieur Baptiste Guers, Commissioner of the said Viceroy, it has been determined to live only for the preservation of the said religion [for] inviolable obedience to the king, and the preservation of the authority of the said Lord Viceroy, seeing in the meantime the approaching ruin of the whole country, it has been determined unanimously that a choice should be made of a person in the assembly, to be deputed on the part of the whole country in order to proceed to the foot of the king, to make the humble submission [which is] due from all subjects according to the most Christian nature and obligation, in all humility to present the schedule of this country, in which the disorders which happened in this country are set forth, notably this year, one thousand six hundred and twenty-one. And also that this same person, here deputed, proceed to find our said Lord Viceroy, equally to communicate to him the same disorders, and to supplicate him to join himself to their complaint, for the request for the remedy necessary in so many misfortunes which threatened these lands with future loss, and finally, that the same person here deputed, be empowered to act, request, assent, treat for and grant for the community of the said country in all and by all which will be an advantage to the said country. And for this all with one consent, with the same voice acknowledging the holy ardour to the *Christian religion*, [italicised in the original] the inviolable zeal to the service of the king, and the passionate affection for the preservation of the authority of the said Lord Viceroy, which the Reverend Father George Le Baillif, Religieuse of the Order of Recollets, has always constantly and faithfully testified, joined to his great honesty, learning and prudence. We have commissioned, deputed and delegated him with full power and instruction to perform,

CHAPTER VII.

During the four years from 1620 to 1624, Champlain was present in Canada ; he completed the fort so far as his means allowed, and seeing the necessity of continuing his examinations, endeavoured further to obtain the aid of the Indians. We have no account of the extent to which he succeeded for there is no record of further exploration. In 1622 the two societies were united ; the basis of their union being that the old society should give 10,000 livres to the new society, taking five twelfths of the profits, the new society receiving seven-twelfths. One of the principal results in view was to induce the Indians to follow a settled career and to accept an agricultural life. Champlain at one time believed in his success. The dream has been periodically renewed for nearly three centuries, each time to prove a delusion.

act, represent, request, agree, write and grant for and in the name of all the inhabitants of this land, praying in all humility His Majesty, his Council and our said Lord Viceroy to accept our delegation, to preserve and protect the said Reverend Father, so that he be not troubled or molested by any person, or under any pretext whatever, so that he may perform, act and pursue the business of the country, to whom we give once more authority to abridge into a common schedule all the statements made to him by private persons, and to place his signature to it with ample declaration, which we made, to hold to be in accordance, and to consider as valid that which by this the Reverend Father will do, as signed, prayed for, negotiated and granted, in what shall concern the said country, and, moreover, we give him power to name and appoint one or two advocates, at the Council of His Majesty, sovereign courts and jurisdictions for and in his name, and ours, to write, consult, sign, plead and petition His Majesty and his Council, all that will concern the affairs of this New France, so we humbly pray all the Princes, Potentates, Lords, Governors, Prelates, Justices, and all to whom it will appertain, to give assistance and favour to the said Reverend Father, and to prevent that he the same, going, coming or sojourning in France, be troubled or molested in this delegation, with the particular obligation of our gratitude, so far that it will be possible on our part.

Given at Quebec, in New France, under the signature of the principal inhabitants acting for the whole, who, the more to authenticate this delegation, have

An event of some importance in establishing the prestige attached to Champlain's name occurred in 1622. Two Iroquois Ambassadors came to Quebec to obtain peace. They left satisfied with their visit: it is certain that during Champlain's life, no serious Indian difficulties presented themselves. The fact disproves the reproach made against his memory, that it was his policy which led to future complications with the Iroquois.

In 1623, Pontgravé arrived shortly to be followed by de Caen, who brought the official intelligence of the Union of the Companies. De Caen's vessels were left at Tadousac, he himself taking a pinnace to Quebec. In his absence, some question arose as to the mode in which the religious worship should be conducted on board ship. It was settled through the good sense of the Recollets. The fact is only of importance to shew that at that date seamanship, not creed, dictated the choice of sailors. Occasionally there were reports of unauthorised, strange vessels ascending the Saint Lawrence. One Basque vessel did reach Tadousac. Such reports more than ever confirmed Champlain in his opinion of the necessity of giving to the fort at Quebec, all the strength of which it was capable. In his leisure, Champlain busied himself with his garden. One can see the pleasure with which he records any such success. It was a taste he loved to indulge in. The summary manner with which he dealt with the idlers who

asked the very reverend father in God, Denis Jamet, Commissary of the religious fathers in these lands, to place his ecclesiastical seal the day and year above.
[Signed,] CHAMPLAIN, Frére DENIS IAMET, Commissaire, Frére JOSEPH LE CARON, HÉBERT, King's Attorney, GILBERT COURSERON Lieutenant of the Prevost, BOULLÉ, PIERRE REYE, LE TARDIF, I. LE GROUX, P. DESPORTES, NICOLAS, Clerk of the Jurisdiction of Kebec & Clerk to the Meeting, GUERS, Commissioner of Monsieur the Viceroy, & present in this election, & sealed in proclamation with the seal of the Rev. Father Commissary.

I have given this Petition at length, so that my theories regarding it may be the better judged. It is published in the Laval Champlain, p. 1018, as taken from Sagard. I believe that the translation is faithful. There is likewise a philological fact in connection with it. Modern Frenchmen reproach the French Canadian for the use of the word "reverend," preceding the name of an ecclesiastic as an Anglicanism. This document proves that the word was so applied in the French of that date "du dit Reverend Père Commissaire."

neglected to clear their lands, shews his contempt for those who failed to cultivate the soil, when it was their duty to do so. One of the Fathers went among the Indians to study the language, he returned in a short time not being able to accommodate himself to the life. Pontgravé remained at Quebec, a prisoner to his room from gout. The phenomenon is recorded of a violent storm of thunder, lightning and hail, before the close of winter, 19th March, 1623. The vessels in summer arrived later than usual. They contained two Recollets, Nicolas Viel and Gabriel Sagard, whose names are forever connected with Canadian history. Father Viel was murdered by a Huron and thrown into the last rapids of the Rivière des Prairies. The record of the crime still clings to the spot, the Sault au Recollet, back of Montreal.

Father Sagard was to be the first Historian of Canada. He was a man of simplicity of character and honesty of purpose. There is no reason to doubt that he inserted with good faith and fidelity the Petition reported to be carried to France by Father le Baillif in 1623, as it was placed in his hand. Nevertheless, I repeat the opinion I have expressed of the intercalation of the words mentioned by me.

Father Sagard has given an account of his voyage. He left Dieppe to proceed to Brouages to take in a cargo of salt. Passing the port of La Rochelle, they entered it, to find thirty or forty Dutch ships, going like themselves to Brouage. There was a pirate in the number, which afterwards chased them. At La Rochelle they took a pilot to convey them to Brouage; he was a Huguenot, and nearly lost the vessel. The same result happened with the pilot on leaving, being also a Huguenot. The surgeon was of the same faith, and annoyed the worthy Father by his bad, uncertain and melancholy caprice.* They were threatened by another pirate, but the danger passed away. On the 1st of May, there was an accident, caused by a youth overcharging his musket for a *feu de joie*. The barrel burst, the man standing by the side of the youth was so severely injured that he died. There was a ter-

* mauvaise, déréglée et mélancolique humeur.

rible tempest. The Recollet Father was surprised that the sailors did not shew more devotion, but rather attended to their duty. A calm succeeded : the sailors danced on the deck as if nothing had happened. During the calm they picked up a cask of olive oil. They met an English vessel, which, being the weaker, they overhauled, but finally allowed to proceed on its course. Sagard was much struck with the whales. He endeavoured to learn their habits, and he entered into some speculations with regard to Jonah during the three days he was a tenant in the carcase of one of them. Finally, he reached Quebec, and was received by no less a person than Champlain himself. He at once entered the chapel, as his feelings suggested. It was his wish, without delay, to start for the convent, but Champlain kept him until the following day, for it was wet and dark. He soon forgot all his troubles, not the least of which had been his suffering from a terrible sea sickness : and at once he prepared to leave for the Huron country. On his arrival, Father Le Caron started for Lake Nipissing.

Champlain, with de Caen, proceeded to Three Rivers, where some settlement had been made for the purposes of trade. The fort, however, was not constructed until 1634, the year after the cession of Canada back to France. Many Indians arrived. The Hurons complained that they had experienced difficulty in passing through the Algonquin country ; the Algonquins exacting a toll on the occasion. There appears to have been some arrangement made to meet the difficulty. There was little progress in the country itself. The views of Champlain could find no acceptance with the Companies, and a quarter of a century was to pass before any systematic emigration from France was attempted. Throughout this period the Recollets had laboured zealously and efficiently. They had missions at Port St. Jean Miscou, at Gaspé for the Montagnais, at Tadousac, Quebec, Three Rivers and the Huron country. They had obtained the affection of the Indian tribes : from their naked feet they were called Chitagon. They kept on good terms with the Hugue-

not traders. Their historian, Le Clercq, especially acknowledges the consideration they received from de Caen. They did not count their labours as missionaries by the number of converts whom they pretended to schedule, and their labours in the Huron country greatly facilitated the subsequent operations of the Jesuits. They early found that with many, baptism was looked upon as a mere matter of consent, for some would be baptised twice a day for a glass of brandy or a pipe of tobacco. Hence, they strove to exact some probation; they found the difficulty to lie in profession without faith. The Montagnais they could little impress. Their record of these Indians is, that they were "brutal, staying seldom in one place, wandering in their habits, incapable of Christianity."

Nevertheless, the influence obtained over the Indians by the few Frenchmen at Quebec, and some few individuals at Tadousac and Three Rivers, must have been very great, for in the early months of 1624, sixty canoes, with seventy Indians, were present at Three Rivers. Of this number, twenty-five were Iroquois canoes, and thirteen those of the Nippissing Indians. It was the Recollets who chose St. Joseph as patron of the rising church. Why modern influences should have substituted St. John Baptist, it is difficult satisfactorily to explain.

With the labours entailed on the six Recollets, they found their number too small, and they expressed a desire to Champlain that it should be increased. Champlain did not give a direct reply to the demand. Most probably he was unable to do so. He was proceeding to France, and it is not improbable he may have known what steps were being taken there. During 1623, and until his departure, he had worked at the buildings, and he had made a road to the fort. It was the forerunner of the present Mountain street, which passed through the old Prescott Gate, and is now the ascent from the Lower to the Upper Town. In August he departed for France. The population of Quebec was then forty-five souls.

Champlain went to St. Germains, where he met the Viceroy de Montmorency who presented him to the King. He attended also a meeting of the Council and made a report of the situation in Canada. At Paris he heard of the continued difficulties between the old and the new associates. The edition of 1632* speaks of these troubles, as the cause of de Montmorency's determination to rid himself of the Vice-royalty in favour of his nephew, the Duke de Ventadour: and that these matters annoyed him more than his own affairs.† We read that the Duke felt himself called to this holy enterprize and paid the price of the Viceroyalty and his predecessor's interest in the society. The patent was signed March, 1625; and not being able to find any ecclesiastics more capable than the Jesuit Fathers he sent six of them at his own cost in that year to Canada. They were Charles Lalemant, Jean de Bréboeuf, Ennemond Massé, François Charton, Gilbert Buret.

No one can read this determination without feeling the injustice done the Recollets, and without a protest against the half expressed sneer at their labours and efforts. They had been eleven years in the country. Originally they had been four in number and then increased to six. They had devoted themselves with honest ability to their vocation, with judgment and constancy of purpose. It was they who prepared the ground work of the grammar and dictionary of Huron and Algonquin,‡ and it was they who had first penetrated into the countries, and formed the establishments where they were to be superseded. The country owes the order a debt of gratitude which history has only imperfectly paid: any mention of their name has been merely perfunctory without acknowledgment or sympathy. It was undoubtedly the Recollets who fought the battle which was to be carried on with regard to the necessity of the presence of missionaries in the west.

* p. 1069.

† Que luy romport plus la teste que ses affaires plus importantes. p. 1069.

‡ et commençay à feuilleter vu petit dictionnaire escrit à la main qu'on m'auoit donné en France; mais tout rempli de fautes. Relation de 1633 par Paul le Jevne, S. J. p. 2.

The Company was a commercial venture. The object of its members was to make money. They looked on every expense, which brought no return, as unnecessary. They were ill-pleased that Champlain should represent the royal authority, and they had endeavoured to nullify his power. In like manner they opposed the construction of a fort. Its political requirement was by them unconsidered. The force placed at Tadoussac and at Quebec, they desired to see exercised to exclude the rival traders who sailed up the Saint Lawrence. The Recollet Fathers were likewise the cause of an expense which the Company begrudged, and the least possible was given to them. On their part the Recollets acted with invariable good sense. There is no record of arrogant assumption on their side to control the whole condition of the country, or to gain political pre-eminence. Their virtues and their merits were acknowledged by their contemporaries, however curtly subsequent writers allude to them.

The Jesuits arrived at Quebec. They did not obtain the welcome promised them in Paris. No one would receive them is Le Clercq's account, and they even thought of returning to France. The commandant of the fort informed them that it was not possible to give them lodgings, either in the fort or the habitation. Those who had houses in the settlement declined to admit them. It was the Recollets who welcomed them, "with a charity to establish an eternal obligation," and the Recollets had been warned* that the new comers would take precedence of them. Two letters are preserved from the Père Charles Lalemant recording their arrival; one to Champlain, the second to the Provincial of the Recollets of Paris. The facts then are indisputable as to the mode in which the Recollets gave them a home. Father Brébœuf, with another priest, started for Three Rivers; their intention had been to meet the unfortunate Father Viel, who had been drowned at the Sault. They expected to gain from him such intelligence as would enable them to leave. When the news came of his death they were thrown on their own

* erunt novissimi primi. Le Clerq.

resources, without knowledge of the language, without information how to proceed, and they had to return to Quebec. Champlain was informed by Father Lalemant that the latter would await his return to Canada before determining the course to be followed. The letter to the Provincial at St. Denis was full of thanks and acknowledgment for the kindness and attention the new comers had received at the Recollet Mission.

Some of the writings of Viel, on bark, were saved. The notes of his labours, and the MS. of his dictionary had been fortunately left at the Huron Mission. Commenced by Le Caron in 1616, it was Viel who completed it. It was Le Caron also who commenced the Montagnais dictionary, it passed from his hands to that of Père Procureur, who completed the compilation. This is the dictionary which it is customary to accredit to Father Le Jeune; but the latter did not come to the country till 1632, long after its completion. Generally at this date the Recollets were the interpreters; there were other persons connected with the trade who had some knowledge of the language. In the winter of 1625, the Recollets taught the Jesuits what they themselves knew. During the summer Father Le Caron had returned to Paris. He at once saw the controlling power of the Jesuits, and he foresaw the difficulty his own order would experience. Justice has yet to be done to the Recollets of Canada. They have fallen under the condemnation which it has become customary to cast upon the policy of Champlain. Two facts are certain. During their control in the country of the Hurons there was no decay in the power of the tribe. Year by year they were drawing the Hurons nearer to France as useful allies. With Champlain's policy there were no attacks on the settlement. It was not until 1641 that the Iroquois, partially supplied by the Dutch with firearms, attacked Canada. They had previously obtained some arms from the French free traders in the Saint Lawrence. It was the unfortunate policy of the authorities of Quebec, failing to control the aggressive bands of Iroquois, which a few resolute men, as a rule, could

have defeated, that was the cause of these disasters. They continued to affect the country for a quarter of a century: when the Frenchman asserted himself in his strength under Tracy in 1666, the Mohawks received a check which they never forgot.

It is in the commission of Champlain, 15 February, 1625, that mention is first made of finding an easy passage to the Kingdom of China, and to the East Indies. The introduction of the sentence suggests Jesuit influence. The career of Saint François Xavier, some seventy years earlier had had great influence on many individuals of the order, so far as the individual imagination could be impressed. Xavier had died on the beach of an island at the mouth of the Canton River. Denied admission into China, he had determined to endeavour to penetrate into Siam. His whole history is one of the most prominent in Roman Catholic hagiography. Possibly, it was hoped a second St. François with his indomitable spirit and will, would arrive to take up his work where death had stopped it. The lives of the early Jesuits in Canada clearly establish that they were selected for their devotion, courage, powers of endurance and fortitude to carry out such a design, and when they arrived in Canada, they at once commenced the active career which distinguished them. It was in 1626 that Charles Lalemant wrote the first of the Relations from Quebec, which were published in France up to 1672: in modern times they have been continued to 1679. His description of the country is carefully written. At that early date he understood that the climate improves as we advance westward. There were at this period only three or four families who cultivated the ground, to an extent not exceeding from eighteen to twenty arpents.* The Indians in the neighbourhood of Quebec he described as always on the verge of starvation. Father Lalemant gives another version of the death of the Recollet Viel. He describes it as owing to the overturning of his canoe. The Indians he sets forth as living only for

* The French arpont is 180 Fr. feet=192 feet English square, in round numbers about ten-elevenths of an English acre.

their belly, covered with vermin, each one having as many wives as he saw fit to take, to abandon as the whim suggested. When the fathers and mothers were too old to walk they were killed off, the son believing that he was performing an act of service to them ; for, if unable to move with the band, they would die of hunger. Lalemant expostulated with an Indian on this proceeding, and asked if he ever considered that it might be his own fate : ‘ Certainly,’ he replied, ‘ he so expected.’ He speaks of the barbarous tortures committed by the Indians on their enemies, and of their feasts, where if one failed to eat what was set before him, he lost his reputation. The Indian theory of heaven was that it was a place where the spirits of the dead were fed on mushrooms, accompanied by the ghosts of their pots, pans, skins and weapons, thus believing in the immortality of the soul. We are informed by him that when the trade was open, there were as many as twenty ships at a time at Tadousac. Now only two arrived once a year in June, carrying to France from 15,000 to 20,000 skins. The Company, at this period, had forty persons engaged in the colony.

On the 1st September, 1625, the Jesuits selected their habitation, and, after some ceremony, commenced its clearance. In winter the proceedings stopped. Père Lalement tells his Superior that it had been necessary to remove the impressions entertained against the order ; that they found the work “Anti-Cotton”* passing from room to room, and that four months after their arrival they obtained possession of and burnt the book. He met an interpreter who, during the winter, was willing to give him some instruction in the language : and a second person, who, starting for France, was seized with a pleurisy, and hence was retained in the country. Neither would ever give information to the Recollets, but they became the willing teachers of the Jesuits, so the proceeding was regarded as an interposition of Providence, or they would have been in

* Father Pierre Cotton. A well known Jesuit at Paris. He is mentioned repeatedly in Sully’s memoirs. He occupied a prominent position in the events of that time, and was frequently the object of attack.

the same position as the Recollets for the last ten years. In the spring the carpenters worked to raise up a structure to shelter them, which was finished in the holy week. Independently of the difficulty experienced in impressing the mental faculties of the savage, the Father felt the want of words to explain the divine mysteries. Another point the Jesuits entered into. Affairs were not in a state by which God could be faithfully served. The Heretic had as much power as ever. Pére Noirot had been sent back to France on this matter. Champlain himself was well affected to their establishment, and had taken Lalemant as the director of his conscience. There was no priest with the Hurons ; but Pére Breboeuf, whose talents he highly commended, with a companion and a Recollet Father, had proceeded thither.

It was no spirit of personal advancement in wealth or honours which had led the successor of de Montmorency to assume the responsibilities of the Vice-Royalty of Canada. *Henri de Levis, Duke de Ventadour, had retired from the Court and the world. His object was to assist the missions, to establish the preponderance of his creed, for he had taken holy orders, and hence the appointment of the Jesuits at his suggestion.

* The family of Levis claimed descent from Levi, the son of Jacob. It is reported that in the family chapel, there was a picture with the Virgin and a member of the family holding his hat. Two legends explained the situation. ‘Put on your hat, my Cousin,’ said the Virgin. ‘It is for my own pleasure, my Cousin,’ replied the descendant of Levi.—[M. l’Abbé Ferland].

CHAPTER VIII.

In order that every objectionable influence should be excluded, an attempt was made to create a new order of things. Champlain was given authority to seize all French vessels trafficking between Gaspé and the 52nd degree of latitude. De Caen was attacked by a combination of the old associates and some of the more pronounced opposite religious parties. He was charged with forcing the Roman Catholics to attend the Protestant services. The case was heard in the Hotel Ventadour. The charges were disproved. There was also some dispute with regard to money. He was awarded 36 per cent interest on 60,000 livres, and at the same time he was held to give security that the obligations due by the associates to the King should be fulfilled, and he was called upon to name a Roman Catholic leader to the expedition.

As there was dissatisfaction as to the mode in which these obligations had been fulfilled and disputes arose with regard to the settlement, further proceedings were taken in 1624. They were commenced in the Admiralty Court and carried before the Council. The judgment was the allowance of an additional four percent to de Caen and the enforcement of an appointment of a Roman Catholic to command the vessels ; de la Ralde was accordingly named, who had been connected with de Caen in 1621, and in that year he was sent to Champlain, with a confidential mission. It was he who had caused the religious difficulty at Tadousac. In de Caen's time the Protestants had said their prayers in the cabin and the Catholics on deck, de la Ralde being in command reversed this proceeding. He was subsequently, 1624, at Miscou, an island at the entrance to the Bay of Chaleurs, where there was a Recollet mission. His appointment did not settle matters to the satisfaction of the Jesuits : he is mentioned by the Editors of the edition of 1632 as unfavourable to them.

The expedition left Dieppe the 24th May, 1626. Père Noyrot, Père de la Noue, with Brother Gaufestre, were in one vessel; Champlain, with Father Le Caron and his brother-in-law Bouillé, and Destouches, were in the other, convoyed by five ships of war. There was civil war in France, the Calvinists having taken up arms without preparation. The Dutch had sent a fleet to assist La Rochelle, then besieged, and it was necessary to protect the expedition from cruisers from that port.

It was not until 1627 that the discreditable English expedition under Buckingham took place, not the least of the many disasters Charles I. brought on England. It was the product of impolicy, insolence and folly. It was the proceeding of the English King in declaring war, which led France to connect herself with Spain in opposition to the sympathies of the best and wisest Frenchmen. The selfish and profligate vanity of Buckingham was turned entirely on the side of war to gratify the spirit of revenge and feeling of disappointment, which arose from the refusal of Richelieu to receive him as English Ambassador. In 1625 he had been deputed to bring Henrietta Maria from France to England, and he had attracted the attention of Paris by the splendour of his dress and retinue. He had been well received, and his head was so turned by this favourable reception, that he had had the audacity to address words of admiration to the young Queen Anne of Austria. He had returned to Paris and obtained admission to the apartment of the Queen. He there made a declaration of his feelings and was ordered peremptorily to leave the room. Still agitated by this passion he obtained the post of Ambassador to France. Disappointed at his want of success in reaching Paris in this character, his whole influence was thrown on the side of war. There were other grievances. Previously, in the war with Spain, English ships bearing letters of marque had seized several vessels without distinction as to their nationality, on the ground that they were engaged in the Spanish trade. French ships had been included in the number. Angry remonstrances had been made on this proceed-

ing and an embargo was laid on English ships in French ports. A fleet was collected in England ; but the French were not deceived with regard to its destination, so war became inevitable. The fleet contained upwards of 7,000 men, with many French Protestants. Never was failure more ignominious. Buckingham proved his utter incompetence for the position. He retreated with the loss of 2,000 men and twenty pairs of colours.

Before the departure of the vessels de Caen arrived to administer the oath to de la Ralde and to the crew. He then read his account of late events, in which address he obtained little sympathy from those who heard him.*

On their arrival at Tadousac, de la Ralde proceeded to Miscou, leaving Emeric de Caen in charge. De la Ralde had received instructions from the Duke de Ventadour that the Huguenots should not sing their psalms in the Saint Lawrence ; but that they could do so at sea. On leaving, he communicated the order to de Caen, placing in his hands the duty of mustering the men and communicating the command. The Calvinists heard the order with disfavour and protested against their liberty being taken from them. Matters looked serious, for two-thirds of the seamen were of the faith : and at that time the French Protestant was not remarkable for forbearance or for patience under provocation. There was a compromise. The Protestants were permitted to assemble and say their prayers in the form their worship dictated. ‘Thus,’ said Champlain, ‘out of a bad debt we get just what we can.’† The prohibition had little effect, for Father de la Noue, on his return from Tadousac, reported that they continued to sing in so loud a voice that they were heard by the Indians ashore.

As they advanced up the river, they received the news that everybody in Quebec was well. Pontgravé had recovered from the gout. There was a great scarcity of provisions, and the whole establishment was on short allowance. Champlain

* p. 1080.

† Ainsi d’ vne mauuaise dette l’on en tire ce que l’on peut. p. 1105.

found matters much as he had left them two years previously. The fort was no further advanced. Some explanation was given of the delay in the time lost in obtaining forage for the cattle. It had to be taken from Cape Tourmente, eleven leagues down the river. Out of the fifty-five persons in the fort, twenty-four only were mechanics and labourers. To reduce this labour he constructed buildings at Cape Tourmente. The site is now known as the "Petite Ferme." These buildings have been spoken of as a fort. They had a certain protection against Indian assault; otherwise they were merely a small residence with barns to receive the forage. They were completed in September and the cattle sent there.

Champlain enlarged the Fort of Quebec. "It is the size of the bird," he remarks, "which must determine the cage."* He considerably increased its accommodation. As the Jesuits were clearing the land, their industry called forth the admiration of Champlain. He bewailed that the example had not been generally followed, so that the means of life would be obtained in Canada; for he held that in respect to food the country should be self-sustaining. One can distinctly trace in his writings that famine was the enemy most dreaded by him. It was at this date that the departure of the missionaries recorded by Father Charles Lalemant took place. The party consisted of Fathers de la Noüe and Brébœuf and the Recollet Father de la Roche: the commencement of the Jesuit's missions. If the death of Brébœuf, 1649, is to be held the termination of them, they continued twenty-three years, to end in leaving the country a desert and in the loss of five devoted self sacrificing men.

While de la Ralde remained at Miscoou, his time occupied with dealing with the vessels which he found infringing the patent of the Company, Champlain passed the winter 1626-27 at Quebec: it was one of the most severe experienced, extending from 21st November to the end of April, there being for the most of the time four and a half feet of snow on the ground.

* Selon l'oyseau il falloit la cage. [p. 1110].

In 1627 there was trouble on the Hudson between the Dutch and the Iroquois: the latter had killed five settlers. Some Indians, Champlain calls them the Loups, friendly to the Dutch, were drawn into the quarrel, and they endeavoured to enlist the Canadian Indians to take part on their side in the contest. An embassy was sent northward. There was peace at this time: an additional proof of the injustice cast on the memory of Champlain in adducing him as the first cause of the later massacres. The proposition was to join in an expedition for the destruction of the Iroquois villages on the Mohawk. The Algonquins received the embassy, but the proposition did not obtain the favour of many of the elder chiefs. One of them, Mahigan Aticq, declared that the question must be submitted to Champlain. What Champlain desired was peace between the Indian tribes, so that the country could be developed, and without any great force he felt he could maintain it.

He was no enemy to the Iroquois; indeed he felt it was for the common good that they should be prosperous. As a rule of political faith, he could see little benefit in destroying their power to strengthen the Dutch on the Hudson, who had now been some twelve years in New York, and in whom he saw, doubtless, the possibility of the creation of a rivalry which in half a century was to prove formidable.*

On the matter being communicated to him he pointed out that it would be a breach of the treaty to be aggressors in the contest. He sent his brother-in-law, Boullé, to Three Rivers, where the Indian council was being held. The decision was postponed. Some Algonquins, however, became impatient, and would listen to no argument. They started to reach their own country, and there to go upon the war-path on their own account: a proceeding which subsequently led to painful results.

In June, Emeric de Caen arrived and proceeded to Three Rivers. His presence was unfortunate, as it encouraged those

* See his letter to Richelieu, written on the 15th August, before his death, in which this view is clearly shewn. [p. 1447.]

who were in favour of war. Some young men were so carried away by this feeling, that regardless of all consequences, they left Three Rivers and ascended the Richelieu. They met an Iroquois canoe with three Indians, who advanced unsuspectingly to meet the ascending canoes. The Algonquins approached under the guise of friendship and attempted to seize the canoe ; two only of the Iroquois were taken, one escaped. The prisoners were tortured with the usual barbarity, and doomed to be burnt. Champlain, summoned by the news of this treacherous conduct, at once went to Three Rivers. He reproached those present for this cowardly breach of faith. The prisoners were released, but in order to avert all chance of war, it was determined to send one of the prisoners back to his village, laden with gifts to offer satisfaction to the Iroquois for this wrong, while the other should be kept as an hostage. Pierre Magnan, a Frenchman, volunteered for the dangerous duty of accompanying the Indians who went with the released prisoner to the Hudson.

The treachery of the Algonquins soon brought its penalty. The Frenchman, Magnan, with the Algonquin Indians, and the tortured Iroquois arrived and presented their credentials. A council was called to consider the propositions of peace and satisfaction. During the deliberations a party of Entonoronons arrived. They belonged to the nation which had been unexpectedly and without provocation attacked by those Algonquins who had impatiently abandoned the council in Three Rivers, and had proceeded to their own country to commence war. These Algonquins had succeeded in killing five of the tribe, the members of which had arrived. "What," said the new comers, as they saw the Three Rivers Indians, "you come here to pretend to peace, while you make war with us," and falling upon the Frenchman, Magnan, and the three Indians, who were unarmed and expected no attack, they killed them before the Iroquois could interfere.

On the news reaching Three Rivers, the unhappy hostage left behind, a mere boy, was immediately tortured and burnt. The whole proceeding was politically most embarrassing to

Champlain. To retain his own prestige the death of Magnan and the Indians must be avenged, and he saw that he was drifting into a tedious and harassing war, which he had done his best to avoid.

Nor was the situation at Quebec one he could regard with satisfaction. The fort remained unfinished, and he and his people were each day coming nearer the end of his stores. The Jesuit Fathers were equally short of provisions. One of their ships had been taken. In September a vessel reached Quebec, but the supplies brought by her were quite inadequate. In the course of the summer de la Ralde arrived ; Champlain brought these difficulties before him ; little satisfaction, however, could be obtained, for the duties of de la Ralde had been defined at home. Champlain gave vent to his dissatisfaction in a sentence which might have been uttered in the Long Parliament, that those who have the government of the purse can make and unmake as they please.* With regard to the fort itself, de Caen was willing enough that it should be built, if the king would send money for that purpose, but he did not consider that it was his duty to furnish the labour. Champlain knew how indispensable the fort was to the future possession of Canada ; a few months proved how correctly he judged.

The Iroquois now determined on war. Reports ran that their parties were on the war-path, so that every one was on the alert. Several of the Algonquins had gathered at Quebec, under the protection of the fort, to catch eels, which they took in large quantities and dried by smoke for winter. The establishment at Cape Tourmente was visited and placed in such a state of defence as was possible. Champlain had settled down at Quebec for the winter, when news came that two of the Cape Tourmente party proceeding to Quebec had been murdered near the Saint Charles. Their bodies shewed marks of extreme violence. Champlain felt the impolicy of declaring war against a race for the crime of a few. Indeed, his

* C'est en vn mot que ceux qui gouubernent la bource font & defont comme ils veulent. [p. 1132.]

means of aggression were limited. He was without munitions and provisions. He therefore summoned a meeting of the chiefs, if possible to trace the actual perpetrators and punish them. The chiefs tried to throw the blame on the Iroquois, but the impossibility of the crime having been committed by them was at once established. No discovery of the aggressors was made. Notwithstanding this bad feeling, in January some thirty starving Indians implored Champlain's charity. Finally they placed in his hands three young girls to be educated by him. They were subsequently known under the names of Faith, Hope and Charity. The presentation of these children surprised Champlain, for the Surgeon had endeavoured to obtain a young girl whom he could educate to marry and always failed in his effort. Champlain relieved the necessities of the Indians, though his stores were scanty.

At the commencement of 1628, Couillard, who married Hébert's second daughter, commenced to plough with oxen. From Champlain's remark,* it may be inferred that what cultivation had hitherto been done was by human labour only. He considers the introduction of the plough so important that he gives the date of its first use 27th April, 1628. He bitterly bewails the conduct of the Association, who, during twenty-two years, had only cleared one arpent and a half of land. Couillard lived with Hébert, and, after the death of his father-in-law, in 1623, worked the farm, the only piece of cultivated ground at this date. Couillard himself was a sailor, carpenter and caulkier. He arrived in Canada four years before Hébert [1613]. Champlain highly esteemed him, was present at his marriage in 1621, and was godfather to his daughter Marguerite, 1626.

It was to Couillard that Champlain applied to assist him in his present difficulty, owing to the non-arrival of provisions. He had determined to construct and equip a vessel as best he could, so that she could sail to Gaspé and obtain a supply to the best extent possible. Couillard was instructed to proceed to Tadousac to rig up a bark there; but he endeavoured

* p. 1144.

to avoid this duty, assigning as a cause that he feared that he would be assassinated by the Indians. Champlain offered to send a boat well equipped under his brother-in-law, but Couillard still declined the mission. Finally, although Champlain was displeased at this continued refusal, he did not think it wise to exact the journey to Tadousac, and Couillard was placed to work on two small vessels at Quebec.

In July, 1628, two of the men stationed at Cape Tourmente came on foot to Quebec, informing him that they had heard a report that six vessels had arrived at Tadousac, commanded by a Captain Michel. It was the expedition of Kirke, which, on leaving England, had consisted of three ships of war ; the additional three vessels must have been craft which he had seized, of inferior tonnage, acting as tenders. Champlain knew that Michel was a man connected with de Caen, generally engaged in the cod fishery at Gaspé, and felt certain that he was not a person of the calibre to command such a force. It is not impossible that his name might have been made use of to give a false character to the vessels. Champlain had at once his suspicions that the expedition was hostile and that the ships were English. He had a Greek among his men. By Champlain's order he disguised himself as a savage, and, with two Indians, he started to learn the nationality of the vessels. He had not proceeded far when he met two canoes which had left the establishment at Cape Tourmente, the place had been attacked and burned, and the cattle which could not be taken for the necessities of the ships at Tadousac, had been killed.

When the war was commenced the spirit of adventure was again awakened in England. The days of Raleigh and Drake had returned, and the enterprize of the land took the ancient form of turning to the ocean, to make reprisals on the enemy. The Company of "Merchants' Adventures" was formed in London, and obtained royal letters of marque to seize French and Spanish ships, with a patent from Charles I. authorizing the establishment of plantations on the banks of the Saint Lawrence. It was by such means at that date, naval operations were con-

ducted. No national navy of any magnitude existed. In 1600, the English ships of war were thirty-six in number, of no great burden. At the time of the Spanish Armada there were only thirteen ships belonging to the navy. The fleet which defeated the large Spanish three-deckers were armed merchant vessels, either pressed or chartered by government, or furnished by the patriotism of corporations and individuals. The men who came forward at this crisis were of high character and position, prominent among them were Lord Stirling* and Gervase Kirke, the father of David Kirke, who commanded the expedition. Thus, while only disaster and disgrace was brought upon the nation by the king and the favourite, a few private men are known in history as having acted with courage and conduct, to retrieve the national honour.

The expedition sailed directly up the Saint Lawrence and reached Tadousac. Here Kirke remained to intercept any

* Lord Stirling's name is so identified with the history of the eastern portion of the continent that special mention of him is necessary. The son of Alexander of Menstria, he was born in 1580. His education led him to be selected as travelling companion to the Duke of Argyll. He published a poem, and came to the Court of James VI., marrying an heiress of the House of Erskine. He published his tragedy and two poems, one congratulating the king on his entry into England, what he called his Monarchical Tragedies, and a poem called Domesday. He became a gentleman usher to Prince Charles, was knighted, became Master of Requests, and in 1621 received his celebrated grant of Nova Scotia, to be ratified by the Scotch Parliament. During James' life, the Parliament was not convoked. He died in 1625, and Charles immediately issued a novodamus to ratify the charter. It was this grant which gave power to create baronets. The order had been instituted by James I. in 1611, to reward those who had been prominent in quelling the insurrection in Ireland, especially in Ulster. The order of Irish Baronets followed in 1620. It was not until 1625 that the Nova Scotian Baronets were created by the grant of Charles I. Honours followed rapidly on Sir William Alexander. He became in a few years Secretary of State for Scotland, sworn by the Privy Council, Keeper of the Signet, Commissioner of the Exchequer. In 1628 he obtained the Barony of Menstria, the following year that of Largis and Tullibody, in 1628 likewise he received the charter of Lordship of Canada. In 1630 he was created Viscount Stirling and Lord Alexander Tullibody; the following year he was made one of the extraordinary Lords of the Session. In 1633 he was created Earl of Stirling, Viscount of Canada and Lord Alexander. In 1637 Earl of Doban. His self-assertion led to Buckingham's remark: The poet wished to be a king, while the king was striving to be a poet.

provisions which might arrive from France, and sent a force up the river. A party of fifteen soldiers landed, totally destroyed the buildings at Cape Tourmente, and with the exception of one cow which escaped into the bush, seized and killed all the cattle, in which act some Indians assisted for their own benefit. Such was the intelligence which Champlain received ; he had now little doubt of the character of the vessels.

On the morning of the 10th July a boat was seen approaching Quebec. For some short period Champlain could not judge whether or not it came with hostile intent. As it drew nearer it was seen to contain women. They were the female prisoners taken at Cape Tourmente, with some Basque fishermen who had been seized by Kirke. The latter were bearers of a letter to Champlain. It informed Champlain that Kirke had been commissioned by the King of Great Britain, that he had seized Miscou, and had destroyed the source of supply at Cape Tourmente, that he had resolved to remain at Tadousac to intercept supplies ; and that he had seized one vessel carrying them. Accordingly, he had sent the Basques with a summons to surrender. They would inform Champlain of the relations between England and France, and what had taken place touching the new Company. He requested some one to attend to treat for the surrender of Quebec, which he knew was without provisions. This course would avoid bloodshed.* The letter is a model of courtesy.

But Champlain was not to be so approached. He could not understand being threatened at so great a distance ; nevertheless he replied with equal courtesy. He was certain that "Quer" was a man of courage, or he would not have been named to the position. He gave his thanks for the information that the vessel bringing provisions had been taken.

* The letter is signed David Quer. Owing to his father's commercial relations, Kirke was borne at Dieppe and had spent much of his youth there. The letter K does not exist in French. It may be inferred that during the residence of the family in France, they had been known as "Quer," and writing to a Frenchman, Kirke used the name to which he had answered at Dieppe.

He was aware that the more provisions there were in the place the better it could be defended. However, they had Indian corn, pease and beans, and with discipline they could still defend themselves ; that he was certain that Kirke would respect the courage which would lead the garrison to await his approach. Moreover, that when he saw the place, he would not find it so easy of capture as he had been given to understand ; and that Champlain would await Kirke's arrival and do all that could be done, to prevent him carrying out his intentions.

CHAPTER IX.

Had Kirke advanced, Quebec must have fallen. The rations were reduced to seven ounces of pease a day to each man, and there were fifty pounds of gunpowder only in the fort. Events determined a different policy.

Some days afterwards a boat reached Quebec from Gaspé. Champlain learned the arrival there of de Roquemont from France, with provisions and some settlers. There were no letters from the Admiral; but there was one from Father Lalemant, informing him that the ships would soon be at Quebec, if not defeated by the English, who he heard were in force, and if possible would prevent their arrival. There was then but a poor prospect of relief. Champlain was suffering from the want of provisions, indeed he was on the verge of starvation. But the great qualities of his nature came to his aid. He was without mill stones, so he sent out an explorer to search if any such could be found. The stone was obtained, cut, mounted by a carpenter, and moved in a hand mill. The pease were ground, soup was made of the meal. Eels were to be caught up the river. His own people had little of the fisherman's skill. There were, however, Indians present who succeeded better. But the French could only obtain the fish by giving clothing for them, or the Indians would sell them for beaver skins: ten eels for one skin. Strong hopes had been formed that the Hébert farm, the one spot in Canada which was self-sustaining, would extend help. All that could be obtained there, were some trifling rations of barley, pease and Indian corn. Couillard was managing the farm, Champlain treated him with delicacy, allowing him to give what he thought proper. It is evident that Champlain considered that the supply might have been greater. The hand mill was of such benefit that the construction of a water mill was determined

on. With great labour, during winter, its completion was effected. He sent some of his people to hunt, they took a moose,* but they themselves ate most of the meat, bringing only twenty pounds to the settlement. Champlain, who shared every crumb of food he obtained, was disgusted with their gluttony.

Besides this suffering, Champlain was in a state of the greatest doubt. His letters from Gaspé in the autumn had led him to look for a naval battle between the English and the French. No vessel had arrived. There was no news of the fight, which Charles Lalemant had written him was daily expected. He could only draw the darkest augury from the non-arrival of provisions. Possibly he may have encouraged the feeling at Quebec that the resolute attitude of his refusal to surrender, had deterred Kirke from further attempt ; but in his own heart he knew that other reasons must have prevailed, and he could only assign to them the most unfavourable character.

Kirke, in his punctilious summons to Champlain, had enumerated the date both in the old and new style ; a proceeding worthy comment, as the first instance of the recognition of the difference appearing in an English document.† When the date of the fight is considered, the 18th, it is more than probable that he did not receive Champlain's reply ; for shortly after sending the summons, he heard of the arrival of de Roquemont at Gaspé. He at once determined to intercept the French vessels. Consequently he did not attack Quebec, but sailed eastward to meet them. The French were cautiously advancing to the Saint Lawrence with eighteen vessels, and had reached Gaspé point. They were heavily freighted with cannon, munitions and provisions, many low in the water. De Roquemont was bringing with him also several settlers, with women and some children ; there were likewise four or five ecclesiastics. The vessels were indifferently provided to repel

* Elan.

† The reform of the Calendar effected by Pope Gregory XIII., in 1582, was not admitted as the style of Great Britain until 1752.

any attack, for it had never been anticipated that they would meet so formidable an enemy so far from France. When, therefore, he saw the English vessels, feeling how powerless he was to fight, he endeavoured to escape. It was the 18th July. Each of the Kirkes attacked a ship, David Kirke taking that of the Admiral. There was a running fight of some hours. The three vessels attacked, struck one after the other; the whole of the vessels thereupon surrendered, one only managing to escape. Kirke found himself with seventeen conquered vessels; taking the cargo out of ten of them, he burnt the empty vessels. With the rest he sailed for Newfoundland. The prisoners of distinction he carried with him to England. The less considerable he sent back to France, leaving the vessels he did not require at Newfoundland.

The vessel escaping contained the Père Noyrot, who, on reaching France, communicated the intelligence of the loss to the new Company formed under Richelieu's auspices. It was the more felt, as it had been the first attempt to succour Canada. The new Company of "One Hundred Associates" was formed in April, 1627. It took the place of all other previous Companies and from the distinction of those who composed it, it was considered that it would lead to great results. Three hundred artizans were at once to be sent to Canada. The settlers were to be supplied with lodging, food and clothing, for three years. The Company was to cede to each settler land enough to cultivate and give the requisite seed. It undertook, before 1643, to establish six thousand inhabitants in Canada, each settlement having three priests. The King reserved supremacy in matters of faith and the right of Homage as Sovereign of New France. A crown of gold weighing eight marks was to be given each successor to the throne of France. The King retained the nomination of all commanders and officers of forts and the appointment of officers of justice when courts were established. The grant included all the territory of New France, extending to Florida, with the country watered by all rivers and their tributaries along the course of

the great rivers of Canada, on the east and west coast of the Continent. The Company further had the right to create and grant titles of honour, which, however, had to be ratified by the Sovereign. The exclusive right to traffic was granted in peltries, and all other commerce except the cod and whale fisheries, for fifteen years. Two ships of war were given by the King, and if fifteen hundred people, of both sexes, had not been sent in the first ten years, the value of the ships was to be refunded. The destruction of de Roquemont's fleet and its leader carried a prisoner to England was a total overthrow of these hopes and plans. The tidings was greeted with a howl of anger. It was debated before the King in Council, and the Kirkes declared public enemies. Three monstrous dolls, representing the three brothers, were, with every ignominy, driven through the streets of Paris and solemnly burned at the Place de la Grève.

Champlain passed his dreary winter 1628-29 with little provision, each day seeing his small store decrease, without any encouragement but what he gathered from his sense of duty, and with little hope of extrication from his position of danger and suffering. His numbers had been increased by some stragglers from Tadousac and those who had joined him from Gaspé. April came, and May ; no ships arrived. He tells us how he had almost determined to abandon Quebec. His theory was to caulk and make an old vessel navigable and proceed to Gaspé, and there find vessels that would carry the party back to France. He thought of the practicability of sending the youngest and most vigorous to live among the Abenakis as best they were able. He even contemplated proceeding to the Iroquois country,* and conquering one of their villages, fortify himself and live on the provisions stored there, and hold it until relief should reach him. His old friend and ally, Father Le Caron, was sent to Tadousac, that he might immediately notify the arrival of any French ships ; and should he meet one not belonging to the Company, to make arrangements to obtain provisions. The small vessel which had been

* p. 1175.

repaired, was also placed in readiness to proceed on a similar mission. Hearing report of murmuring, and that the opinion had been expressed that if a vessel could be found to take them to France they would not return to Quebec, he changed the crew, placing what married men were in the place among them, as a guarantee they would return ; for the latter would not desert their wives and families. The people of Quebec at this period to a great extent had to live on roots. There had been little cultivation of the land. Champlain tells us of the difficulties raised in the disposal of any grain.* It could be sold to no other parties, but to the Company : a policy designed to keep the inhabitants under proper control, and to deter settlers from coming : an experience not unknown in modern times. If report be true such influences are indirectly brought to operate in districts where families follow fishing as a trade, so that no strange dealer can purchase fish, and the great firms have the monopoly of the trade.

On the 20th May, a canoe arrived from Tadousac, and Champlain heard enough of the fight of the 18th July, to understand that his friends had been defeated. No news came from that place of any fresh arrivals. The scarcity increased. Pontgravé, a sufferer from gout, determined to try his fortune with a boat's crew of twenty-nine, who, with Boulle, was proceeding to Gaspé. All that was to sustain the crew, were some roots and pease, and their design was to reach Gaspé to obtain relief in some shape. In the midst of this distress, Father Bréboeuf arrived from the Huron country, where he had been three years. It was hoped that the Hurons, who were with him, had brought some corn. They were found to have but four or five sacks, which Champlain conscientiously divided. Unless relief came from France the salvation of all present depended on the few acres of land under cultivation on the Hébert farm. But the end was soon to come.

On the morning of Thursday, the 19th of July, about ten o'clock, when Champlain was alone with his servant and two of the young Indian girls, the rest of the company having

* p. 1187.

gone to fish or hunt, or gather roots in the woods, one of the company arriving with some sacks of his morning foraging, reported to Champlain that he had seen the masts of the English vessels behind Cape Levis. They were a part of Kirke's small fleet which had left Gravesend, 25th March, 1629. The force then consisted of the "Abigail," 300 tons, commanded by David Kirke; the "William," of 200 tons, commanded by Lewis Kirke; the "George," 200 tons, Thomas Kirke, and the "Gervase," 200 tons, by Brewerton; there were two other ships and three pinnaces. They arrived at Gaspé on the 15th June. Kirke divided his force, Lewis and Thomas were directed to go to Nova Scotia. David, with the "Gervase," went to Tadousac, where all had been ordered to rendezvous. Of the vessels before Quebec, two were commanded by Lewis and Thomas Kirke.

A boat left the ships and advanced to Quebec, shewing a white flag. There was one course to be followed, in a fort with scarcely any powder, with a few starved,* not starving men. Champlain himself held out a white flag from the fort. Louis Kirke arrived demanding a surrender. There was no alternative but submission, and terms of surrender were agreed upon. Those desirous of so doing should proceed to England, thence to France.† The garrison were to leave with arms, baggage and furs. The soldiers were limited to their clothes and to a robe of furs, with nothing else. The religious fathers to take only their robes and books. The removal of the two

* Vide Examination Captain David Kirke before Sir Henry Martin, 27th May [6 June, 1631], "there was not in the sayde forte at the tyme of the renditon of the same to this examinates knowledge any victualls, save only one tubb of bitter rootes....That for the victualls which he gave the French to releive them in Canida, and homewards accordinge to Composition, he might have hade in trucke with the natives of that country more beavers by a thousand than he had out of the sayde forte of Cabecke....With his owne victualls he fedd of the French for the space of three or fower monthes at least one hundred persons. State paper Off. Col. Papers. Vol. VI. Art 15. [Laval Champlain, 1429].

† A note of the Editors of the Laval Champlain, points out that the abbreviation "Mres." may mean only the chief personages, literally "Masters." It is evident that the soldiers were allowed to march out with their arms, or otherwise it would have been so stated.

Indian girls was refused even at this date, 19th July, when David Kirke ratified the terms of surrender. Permission was subsequently granted for their departure, and again withdrawn. Kirke brought with him three French interpreters, and had also availed himself of the services of le Bailiff, a discharged clerk of de Caen. The fact of their presence is recorded with some bitterness, and their names are preserved. Louis Kirke would not permit Champlain to vacate his rooms, so established himself at the fort. Permission was given to celebrate mass on the Sunday. It was the 22nd July, on that day the arms of France were taken down and replaced by those of England. The standard of the red cross was displayed from the fort walls. It was saluted by the ships. The English troops were formed in line by beat of drum.* A *feu de joie* was given. The five small pieces of artillery with the two swivel guns, returned the salute; and, doubtless, among the "*signes de resiouyssance*" of which Champlain tells us, was heard that stern undaunted English cheer, re-echoed on so many battle-fields, which so gladdened the heart of Turenne, as he saw the English *corps d'armée* march by his side against the Spaniards on the field before Dunkirk, with its unwavering, unbroken, unconquerable advance. Such was the first conquest of Quebec in 1629.

A list was given of the articles and munitions taken in the fort. 'It is no use writing down the provisions we find,' said the English Admiral, 'we prefer to assist you with what we have.' Champlain replied with the wit, which is so apparent in much of his writings: "We thank you very much," he said, "although you make us pay dearly enough for what you give us."

Although Champlain had in every respect performed his duty as a brave gentleman, he tells us himself that to remain at Quebec was painful. Kirke, himself, was at this period thirty years of age. He had passed many years in France, and spoke French perfectly, and although courteous and considerate, he was, after all, only the living memorial of a misfortune.

* Fist battre de quesse. [Caisse.] [p. 1230.]

Champlain, therefore, requested permission to proceed to Tadousae, where David Kirke, with the other ships, was lying. The request was granted. He presented to Lewis Kirke some furniture to add to the comfort of Kirke's cabin, and with his own effects went on board the vessel to take him down the river. How writers have taken upon themselves to call the Kirkes renegade Frenchmen is hard to explain. Champlain explicitly speaks of Lewis Kirke* as the son of a Scotchman, born at Dieppe, and he is spoken of as shewing sympathy and kindness to the French living at Quebec. The latter had liberty to return to France. The condition was hard to accept; it was literally to abandon all they possessed. They would return to France only to be beggars. Kirke promised them kind treatment. Champlain advised them to remain until spring to gather in their crops, after the ships had left. Next season, returning with the vessels engaged in the trade, they would more readily find their way home, a policy he the more recommended on account of the women and children. Five families, amounting to twenty-five persons, accepted these conditions. The Recollets remained at Quebec until the 29th September.

Champlain's mortifications were not ended. The vessel commanded by Thomas Kirke had proceeded as far as Malbaie, twenty-five leagues from Quebec, when they met the vessel of Emerie de Caen. It had passed the ships at Tadousae in a fog. There was a fight, the French vessel was defeated and carried back to Tadousae to be handed over to the chief of the expedition. David Kirke received Champlain with all courtesy. When on board de Caen's vessel, Champlain heard of his brother-in-law, Boullé. On his journey to Gaspé Boullé had met the vessel of de Caen, and it was owing to his earnest representations that de Caen was hurrying to Quebec, in the hope of bringing timely relief. Boullé himself started on his return, if possible to anticipate by a few hours de Caen's arrival, and to bring to Champlain the welcome intelligence of his approach. He was seen by the vessel of Thomas

* p. 1233.

Kirke, and he and his crew had been taken and sent prisoners to Tadousac. On his arrival Champlain received this explanation personally from Boulle.*

Some difficulty arose about the young Huron girls. Kirke was informed by Marsolet, one of the parties who had been left at Quebec, that the Indians were displeased with the arrangement that the girls should be taken to France. They had been willing that they should remain with the French in Canada, but they considered that as the French were leaving the country, the girls should be returned to their parents. Kirke evidently considered the objection one to be entertained for political reasons, and although Champlain made every effort to take them with him, the girls remained in Canada.

David Kirke proceeded to Quebec to visit the fort which his force had seized.† He was accompanied by some of his own officers, and by Boulle. After an absence of ten or twelve days he returned, and received the customary salute. He expressed to Champlain the pleasure he felt at what had met his view, and he declared that if the place remained in their hands, they would accomplish different results to those he had seen; as well with regard to the Indian tribes, as to the buildings and the commerce; results to be attained by the labour and industry of those who would be sent there. Champlain evidently had a purpose in the publication of this remark. It was designed to attract the attention of Richelieu. It was simply the expression of his own views, and he knew that the wise Cardinal did not disdain to be taught by an enemy.

Kirke treated his captives with the greatest courtesy. His kindness is recorded in their own language in state documents. In all matters of arrangement he acted with liberality. His conquest entailed on him no slight obligations. He had to feed Champlain's starving garrison of a hundred men. There is a letter of Champlain, written in London in 1629,

* p. 1240.

† p. 1252.

It is in English : ‘he doth acknowledge all good usage in respect of diett and lodging.’ He had, however, three grievances : that his friends had not free access to him ; that he had better diet than he desired without agreement how much he would have to pay for it, and that if it continued long he would not be able to give satisfaction for it. Further, although he had clean linen, he wished that it should be done by his own laundress ; but the master of the house did refuse it, having suspicion of the two women who came. His third grievance was that he was detained for a ransom he never ought to pay, not being “taken in warre but on a plantacion.” Further, that he was not worth above £700 sterling, and “should they keepe him ten yeares and ten yeares he was altogether unable to pay a ransome, and wished that noe man would judge of his estate by his clinquant cloathes.”*

If the Merchant Adventurers expected any immediate prize in the taking of Quebec, they must have experienced great disappointment. For if there were to be gain, it lay in the future, and for a few years, must be national and political, rather than bringing at once commercial profit. On his oath, in 1631, Kirke declared all that they took from the fort was 1713 Beaver skins ; what other skins he possessed he obtained by barter and trade. Having but insufficient freight for his vessels to take home, he cut a quantity of pine for shipbuilding. Some of this timber was no doubt required partially to repair his own damages, but the inference is that he carried much of it to England. Thus commencing a trade which Champlain himself had endeavoured to establish by taking specimens of oak to France ; a branch of commerce which, nevertheless, remained much neglected during the period of French government. This source of wealth even does not appear to have been understood either by Colbert or Talon. Kirke, also, cut some birch for firewood, and as he could not require fires in August or September he could only have sought it for freight. There was one source of gain he managed to

* State paper office, Vol. V., 33. [Laval Champlain, p. 1413].

appropriate. During his cruise he seized nineteen French and Basque vessels.

Some months previous, de la Ralde had given the order that the Protestants should be denied the privilege of singing hymns. It was now the turn of the Catholics to pay the penalty exacted by religious intolerance. We trace in the account that humour which Champlain possessed. He says, "While we were at Tadousac the said Quer [Kirke] would not allow the Catholics to pray God openly on shore, where he had landed all the French, except two of the crew of the said Emeric de Caen, who were Huguenots, which made them laugh to have this pre-eminence over the others."* Champlain, with Kirke, passed the time in hunting. Game was abundant, larks, plover, curlew, wood cock. They killed over twenty thousand. In fishing, the Indians took salmon and trout with a quantity of smelt, and the hours ran on as pleasantly as his own thoughts would permit.

Leaving Quebec with its new garrison well victualled, Kirke departed with his fleet, carrying away his prisoners, among whom were Masse and Bréboeuf, and the Recollet Fathers. He arrived at Plymouth on the 20th October, and at Dover on the 27th. Here the whole of the French were re-embarked and sent across the channel. Champlain, writing by them a few lines to de Lauzon, at Paris, proceeded to London and placed himself in communication with the French Ambassador, M. de Chateauneuf. He arrived the 29th. He remained in London until the last days of November, and, after some delay, he reached Dieppe, about the 20th December. At Dieppe he met Daniel, who had just returned from Nova Scotia, who handed him a commission from the New Company, called the Society of One Hundred, appointing him Governor of Canada, which had been placed in the hands of

* Pendant ce temps que nous estions à Tadousac, ledit Quer ne voulut permettre que les Catholiques priassent Dieu publiquement à terre, ou il auoit mis tous les François, horsmis deux qui estoient Huguenots, de l'esquppage dudit Emery de Caen, qui les faisoient rire pour auoir ceste preeminence par dessus les autres. [p. 1275].

Daniel to be delivered at Quebec, and which Champlain only received when Canada had for the time ceased to be a French Province.

The difficulty of determining the amount of faith to be given to the Edition of 1632 is experienced in a greater degree in the concluding chapters.* The account of the conduct of Thomas Kirke in the fight with Emeric de Caen and of Louis Kirke, charged with pilfering a chalice, is so at variance with the impression we receive of them from Champlain's earlier description and is so unsustained by evidence that it cannot be accepted as his writing. His own simple, direct, straight forward style is utterly unlike what is said in this account. The narrative of the Huron girls is of this character. It contains, no doubt, a basis of truth. The speech given to Esperance, a girl of twelve, could be declaimed with applause by the virtuous heroine of the *Porte St. Martin*. We may well be told that it created astonishment. The statement of the ill-treatment of the Jesuits, is an appeal to prejudice, unsustained by evidence, and of which Champlain was incapable. The account of the death of Michel, with the melodramatic episode of his conversation with Bréboeuf, has all the mark of a foreign hand. There may have been some angry altercation between them, and that Bréboeuf, a man trained as a priest may have been more than a match for the sailor, is possible. The description of Michel's burial is marked by an error which Champlain could not have made. It is set forth as having taken place at Tadousac. The vessels were moored at Moulin Buade, a league from that place. There was no object in making a special trip of three miles to find a grave. The chronicle of the Daniel exploit has no relation either to Champlain or to the Saint Lawrence. It is given as a set off against the loss of Quebec. Soberly related, it consisted in taking an unarmed vessel, laden with cattle, bound for Cape Mallebarre, on her way to the new settlement of Plymouth. Daniel coasted along Cape Breton, reaching a Bay, near Louisbourg, where, during the preceding two months, some settlers had established themselves under Lord Sterling's grant. We have Daniel's own account† that he went there with fifty-three men. On his approach, after some discharge of muskets, a white flag was shewn, and he took possession of what he describes as a fort. He tells us that there were only fifteen armed men. The whole number was sixty, including women and children. He made prisoners of the whole, taking possession of the buildings and setting up the arms of France. The soldiers he carried to France. The forty-two non-combatants, women and children, he landed at Falmouth. Lord Ochiltree, who was present,‡ describes the conduct of the French, as "barbarous and perfidious : coming there as friends because of the place." Daniel arrived with six shallops, three score soldiers and a number of Indians. The settlement had been established two months and was without defence. The prisoners were packed close together in the ships and carried away. But be the exploit of Daniel what it may, it has no true place in Champlain's history.

* Though we cannot disprove, it may be permitted to suspect. Hallam.

† p. 1286.

‡ Col. papers. Feby. 20th, 1630. p. 106.

CHAPTER X.

The Historian of the Recollets in Canada* who wrote half a century after these events may be accepted as an authority for the opinion held at this date in France. Generally, it was not favourable to the retention of Canada as a national colony. La Nouvelle France claimed, in a way, to possess an history of nearly a century. All that had been effected was the establishment of five families at Quebec, consisting of about twenty-five souls, with scarcely twenty arpents of cleared land. At Tadousac, to the east, stood the one stone house, built by Chauvin, with a few log huts. There had been a cluster of buildings at Cape Tourmente to house cattle, which had been burnt by Kirke. At Three Rivers, some two or three log houses had been constructed by the Recollets. Every article of necessity and use had to be sent from France. It is no wonder that with a large majority, New France was looked upon as a field for commerce, where furs could be obtained at a paying price, and that as a national enterprize it had little claim on national consideration. Such views, indeed, were, to a great extent, prevalent to the days of Colbert. The Jesuits virtually succeeded Champlain, to take possession of the country for thirty years and to dictate its policy, laying down the principle that it should be primarily regarded as the field for their missions. The whole of their writings it may be said, the only published papers to direct attention to the colony, particularly dwelt on the theme of saving the souls of the heathen by converting them. As we read these Relations we must remember that they were written, with a view to publication, and doubtless carefully considered and prepared for that purpose. They were either given to the world in the *Mercure Français*, or immediately published in the

* Christien Leclercq. Etablissement de la Foi. 1691.

editions of Sébastien Cramoisy, when their length made the former course impossible. It is plain that the desire of influencing public opinion dictated their dissemination. No modern newspaper correspondent ever made greater efforts more favourably to represent the cause he was advocating. The whole of the Relations are marked by extraordinary literary ability, which goes far with the modern reader to nullify the monotony of the subjects on which they treat. The great influence which they obtained at the time they appeared is clearly established by the events which followed. It was deeply felt, widely circulated, and of long duration. They still exercise a charm by the finished simplicity of style, the plain meaning of everything which is said, the pleasant French in spite of occasional archaisms, and the ever present faith in God and His Providence, shewn by the writers ; joined, moreover, to their unflinching, uncomplaining devotion to the cause they had embraced. For the object with which they were written, these papers may be classed among the most finished and able productions extant.* The Company, with the desire of confirming their monopoly of the trade advocated the Jesuit view, and were ready to promote the missions to any extent, with the proviso that they had not to pay for them.

Thus with the practical, unimpressionable minds, who trace the advance of a country by its material prosperity, the argument was strongly advanced that little was to be gained by holding New France. It did not add to the national strength, and would prove a great drain on the home population to garrison it, as had been proved in the case of the American possessions in Spain. It could only be defended against New England and Virginia at a great outlay, and it was contended that the effort to civilize the Indian, so that he would become an agriculturist to develop the resources of the country, was hopeless. Those in favour of holding it

* Previous to the re-surrender of Canada to France, in 1632, two Relations only had been published, that of Father Biard dealing with the events in Acadia, published by Muguet, at Lyon, in 1616— and the letter of Father Charles Lalemant, 1626, published in the *Mercure Français*, Tome 13, p. 1. The first Relation

Père le Jeune, 1632, was published after his return to Quebec.

pledged the wealth of its fisheries, keeping in constant employment twelve hundred ships, so furnishing an almost inexhaustible nursery for the navy ; its mines of iron, copper, lead and tin promising great wealth : its valuable timber, and the commerce in furs, of recognized advantage, already bringing profit and honour to many.

Richelieu fully recognised the benefits arising in the national point of view, by any extended development of the fisheries. The argument that they furnished the source of constant supply of men for the navy must have had great weight with him. He had already seen the necessity of encouragement being given to that service. The unfortunate Duke de Montmorency had obtained the office of Admiral of France in 1611, when but seventeen years of age. In less than three years after Richelieu was called to the Council, he obtained possession of the office by purchase [1627] and suppressed it. In order to place the marine force on a better basis he constituted himself its head, with full control, under the title of Grand Master and Superintendent of Navigation and Commerce. With the information which this office placed in his power he had been made clearly to understand that the expeditions to Canada had hitherto been simply dictated by the prospect of individual profit, and that no permanent benefit could arise from their continuance. Accordingly he established the Company of the " Hundred Associates," a society advocating more enlarged theories of settlement and with defined views. It was doubtless intended as the forerunner of further change and development. Richelieu's early death [1642] interfered to prevent their completion. From 1632 to his death were stormy days for France. The year of Canada's restoration witnessed the revolt of Gaston of Orleans. He drew to his side the former Viceroy of New France, de Montmorency, who at the fight at Castelnauy was wounded and taken prisoner, to be executed at the early age of thirty-seven. The same year Marshal de Marillac met the same fate. Four years later, 1636, the plot of Orleans and the Count de Soissons was on the point of success. From time to time in Perigord and

Rouerque, the rising of the *Croquets* took place ; in Normandy that of the *Nu-pieds*. The conspiracy of Cinq Mars and de Thou, to be followed by their execution, was formed but shortly before the Cardinal's death. Whatever the policy of Richelieu in 1632, it could only be partially carried out, and was necessarily deferred until France was at peace within. The death of Champlain in 1635, and of Richelieu seven years later, was the greatest misfortune which New France, at this crisis could have experienced. For the country was to be given over to the Company of the One Hundred Associates never to rise above the level of its commercial schemes, to struggle on in a comatose condition for a quarter of a century, so distressed and harassed as to furnish the spectacle of being ever on the verge of extinction.

There was one master principle which determined the Cardinal to exact from England the restoration of Canada. The loss of prestige in the eyes of Europe by the English possession of Quebec had to be obliterated. No honour had been lost by the surrender of Champlain. Nevertheless, a French possession had passed from the rule of the French King. Whatever its value, it had to be regained by diplomacy or force, regardless of the future attitude which the country would take in relation to it.

Richelieu soon learned a sure means of regaining it. Charles I. had rushed into war recklessly, insolently, with little provocation from the French Court. The one ground of helping the French Protestant was not unpopular in England. It had ignominiously and disgracefully failed. Buckingham's futile interference to aid La Rochelle had brought on that city desolation and ruin, and destruction to its prosperity which modern writers tell us has never been regained. Charles was now prepared to make peace at any terms which Richelieu might dictate, provided that he could compass his own selfish ends. The basis of peace was the cession back to France of Quebec and Acadia : that Nova Scotia which he had so lately granted to Lord Stirling. Charles accepted the conditions. The secret cause of his yielding this point has long been a puzzle to his-

torians. It could not be said that it was from ignorance of the value of the conquest. On the contrary, it was well known that the possession of the Saint Lawrence was of great national value, completing the English hold on the Northern Continent of America. Virginia had been founded twenty years. In 1620 the population near Jamestown amounted to two thousand souls : it was in this year the "Mayflower" had reached Plymouth, and the colony was now sending offshoots to Massachusetts and New Hampshire. There was everything to gain by affirming the new possession, so that the English Colonies should be relieved from all opposition, and protected from the enmity of a rival nation, so powerful as France.

All historians chronicle the English King's poverty at this date. Moreover, he was involved in difficulties with his Parliament, in his attempt to establish absolute authority. We have in this poverty to look for the cause of his compliance.

Half of the marriage portion of Henrietta Maria remained unpaid.* One-half had been paid in London on the arrival of the Queen ; the marriage having taken place in Paris, 13th June, 1625. The remainder was due the following year, 18th June, 1626, viz., four hundred thousand French crowns. It was to obtain payment of this money that the King consented to restore Quebec. The fact is distinctly established by the letter of Charles I. to Sir Isaac Wake, Ambassador to France, dated 12th June, 1631.† The letter requires to be carefully read, for it is involved in its style, and somewhat obscure in

* Henrietta Maria did not partake in the ceremony of the Coronation of Charles I. She was, however, present as a spectator. Sir John Pinet, in his *Philoxenis* [pp. 169-171] states that she was absent owing to her objection to taking part in a Protestant ceremony. She had been married by proxy by Cardinal Richelieu. "That pernicious woman," as Hallam styles her, maintained that she should be crowned by one of her own religion. This must have been too much even for Laud, who, with all his innovations and extravagance of ritual, plumed himself on the controversial power of his book against the Jesuit Fisher.

† This remarkable letter was first made known in the Report on Canadian Archives, 1884. It was discovered in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, volume 1760, by Mr. Brymner, the Dominion Archivist, who enters at length into an examination of the subject, pp. xi., xiv. The letter itself is given in full, p. lx.

meaning, owing to its allusion to proceedings imperfectly known. Its purport is, however, so far distinct and plain, that it urges upon Wake the necessity of exacting payment of this money, furnishing the arguments by which he should sustain his demand. It is evident that Wake himself had been the bearer of a draft of a treaty containing provisions which do not appear in that of Saint Germain-en-Laye. No difficulty was felt in ceding Canada and Nova Scotia, in giving up French ships, in sacrificing the property and the expectations of Kirke and the Company of Merchant Adventurers, in disregarding the French Protestant, and in treating with perfect neglect the heroic defenders of La Rochelle. English honour was ever a small matter with the Stuarts. Charles tells Wake that he will observe "specified in the thyrd article, we have admitted an alteration in the family of or dear Consort, by increase of the number of the Religious persons about her" "& have caused divers restitutions to be made of whole shippes and their charge of goods to that nation to a very great value wth out holding anything of that kinde....by way of arrest or reprisall"....Evidently, also, he had included in the treaty the payment of the amount of the marriage portion at a fixed date. The French Ambassador had refused to admit any such condition. He contended that the payment should be made a point of honour in a separate treaty. To this the King had consented, because "a formality should not interrupt the busines," and no mention was made in the treaty of the money. Wake was accordingly directed to urge payment of the sum on the ground that Quebec would be surrendered:*

* "What wee chiefly understand to be put in ballance yf not in contract against the porçon money is the renditon of Quebec in Canada ; taken by vertue of a comission given during the late warre under or great seal, by a Company of or subjects of this or Kingdome of England, & the retyring from Port Royal, a place adioyning vpon New England, where a Company of or subjects of or Kingdome of Scotland were seated & planted by vertue of the like comission under the seale of that or Kingdom, given out likewise during the warre ; in consequence of one formerly given by the K. or father of happy memory.

"Trew it is that one of these places was taken & the plantaçon was made in the other after the peace ; & in that regard [so all other differences may be accomodated] wee have formally consented & still continue or purpose & resolution that

a surrender the King was in no way called upon to make by the preliminary treaty of Susa. Charles could not state this part of the case more plainly. It was one of bargain and sale. To prevent complications, he sent over a special commissioner, Philip Burlamachy, with power to receive "the porçon money due vnto vs eyther in present paym^t, or such good and valuable assignaçon as may give him contentm^t." Wake was instructed not to give over the "instruments" to effect the cession of Quebec, until the money was arranged for. One act of decency Charles did perform, he asked for the abolition "of all acts published in France against any, particularly the three brothers the Kirks."

The negotiations to settle the terms of peace extended over three years. A preliminary treaty was passed at Susa, on the Piedmontese slopes of the Alps, 24th April, 1629. It consists of nine articles. The second lays down that there shall be no restitution of what had been taken during the war.* The eighth† sets forth that operations carried on by vessels bearing letters of marque, not informed of the peace two months after its signature, should not invalidate it, and that that which was taken during such two months should be restored on both sides. The treaty was ratified 6th September, in England, 16th September, at Fontainebleau.

The treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye which definitely determined the conditions of peace was signed 29th March,

the one, that is Quebec shall be restored, & from the other such of o^r subjects as are there planted shall retyrc, leaving those parts in the same state they were before the peace : w^{ch} wee do not out of ignoranc as yf we did not understand how little wec are hereunto obliged by the last treaty [the 7th article whereof w^{ch} is that of restitution, regards onely shippes w^{ch} were then abroade wth letters of mart] but out of an affection & desire to compleye wth o^r good brother, the French King, in all things that may friendly & reasonably, though not rightly & duly be demanded of vs."

Charles mentions the "7th" article. It is in reality the "8th." There is a misprint in the early printed copy of the treaty of Susa, both the 7th and 8th clauses being marked VII. No doubt so shewn in the original Treaty.

* diverses prises.

† It is marked VII., as above stated, that number being repeated. Sir Thomas Edmund signed for England.

1632. It was supplemented by an additional treaty for the re-establishment of commerce. The third article provided for the cession to France of Quebec and Cape Breton, within eight days after instructions had been received to vacate them; three weeks being allowed for the garrisons to withdraw their property. De Caen was held to furnish a vessel to carry the retiring inhabitants to England, and it was provided that satisfaction should be given for merchandise not bartered, with thirty percent added to the value in England. The return of the vessels with the property contained in them was also provided for. There is likewise a *brevet* from the French King promising *en foy et parole de Roy*, to carry out what his ambassadors determined. It is not improbable that it was by these means the payment of the money to Charles was provided for.

The French Government had been by no means idle in London. The Ambassador had immediately demanded that the property taken at Quebec should be seized and returned to the French owners. A deposition was made by Kirke and others, 27th November, 1629, that all the property taken from the fort at Quebec consisted of '1713 beaver skins,' and that by trading at Tadousac they obtained '4540 beaver skins and 432 stagge skins.' It is shewn by an answer made to a communication from the French Ambassador, that previous to its date, 11th February, 1630, an agreement had been entered into that Quebec should be restored; that the property seized should be likewise given back; that an enquiry should be instituted to determine of what such property consisted; and that certain vessels taken should be returned. In April some hesitation had been shewn relative to Port Royal.

The furs in the possession of Kirke, claimed as belonging to the French, led to some difficulty. They were ordered to be seized under warrant of the Lord Mayor. It was then declared that they had been removed from their place of custody, and consequently a Mr. Fitz was sent to the Fleet for having carried them off. The skins were forthcoming, upon which Fitz was released. Finally they were sequestered. There was great discontent at the treatment the

English "Adventurers" received. An indignant protest was made by Kirke, in a forcible letter, yet extant, written on the part of his mother and the others interested.*

Champlain was not selected to receive the country from those who then held it. M. de Caen was chosen : from what cause it is difficult positively to say. It has been suggested that in order to indemnify de Caen for the losses he had suffered, a monopoly of the trade for one year was granted him ; he on his side bearing the charges of the expedition. Authority over the whole colony was also given him ; du Plessis Bochart was second in command. The Jesuits de Nouë and le Jeune accompanied them to Quebec.

Père le Jeune is the author of the Relations from 1632-1640 : he was destined to preach the funeral sermon on Champlain. It is to him we mainly owe an account of the events which happened in that period. He was a man of ability, devoted to the duties entrusted to him, in no way sparing of himself ; viewing life and its obligations entirely from the standing point established by his order. We may trace a change in his opinions as years passed on, gradually to form totally new principles of action. In the early years, he relates his unwillingness to baptize without confidence in the ulterior influence of the ceremony on the lives of those he desired to elevate. This feeling by no means retained its strength. In his early writings he set forth the difficulty of making progress. "I fear but one thing in this day," he says, "that Old France will grow tired of assisting New France. Seeing that the harvest requires such time to mature. But they must recollect that toad stools come forth in a night, and that it takes years for the fruit of the palm to ripen."† He summarily condemned the Recollet dictionary of the Mont-

* Vide letter from David Kirke to Sir Isaac Wake, 24 April, 1632. State paper Off. Col. papers VI. 53. It is given in full in the Laval Champlain Pieces Justificatives XXVIII., pp. 27-31.

† *Je ne crains q'vne chose, en ce delay que l'Ancienne France ne se lasse de secourir la Nouuelle, voiant que la moisson tarde tant à meurir ; mais qu' on se souvienne que les potirons, naissent eu vne nuit et qu' il faut des années pour meurir les fructs de la palme.* Relation 1633, p. 43. Quebec Edition, 1858.

agnais as full of errors.* At the same time he informs us that he did not know the language,† and that it was a great misfortune only to speak in stammering and by signs.

From him we learn that the expedition arrived at Tadousac on the 18th June, and that it remained there until the 3rd July. A messenger was sent on to Louis Kirke with a copy of the instructions of the English Court, commanding the cession of the fort. A reply was given, that on the production of the original order, the instructions would be obeyed. On the 5th July, the vessels reached Quebec. De Caen with the religious fathers landed. The first act of repossession was the performance of mass at the house of Hébert, who had remained during the English occupation. The walls and a heap of rubbish were all that could be seen of the habitation constructed by Champlain. It had been burnt. It is not said that these buildings were purposely destroyed ; it has, however, been so insinuated. Could it have been positively asserted that its wanton destruction had been dictated by meanness and spite, we should have had the fact fully recorded. There were those left to tell the story.‡ Evidently the fire had been the result of accident. Indeed there is a letter from the elder de Caen to Richelieu, stating that the 'carelessness' of the English had cost him 40,000 crowns.

It is evident that neither the Jesuit nor the Recollet establishment could have been in a very bad condition for the Jesuits established themselves in their old quarters. Originally it was a wooden tenement run up in a few months in 1626,§ and no doubt had suffered from neglect. On the 13th

* tout rempli de fautes. Relations 1633. [p. 2.]

† comme ie ne sçay pas bien la langue . . . O que c'est vn grand mal . . . de ne parler qu' en begayant et par signes ! Ib. p. 29.

‡ nous vismes au bas du fort la pauure habitation de Kebec toute bruslée. Les Anglois qui estoient venus en ce pais cy, pour piller et non pour edifier, ont bruslé non seulement la plus grande partie d'un corps de logis que le père Charles l'Allemant auoit fait dresser, mais encor toute cette pauure habitation en laquelle ou ne void plus que des murailles de pierres toutes bouleuersées. Relation, 1632, p. 7.

§ Relation, 1626, p. 7.

July the fort was replaced in the hands of the French, and Louis Kirke sailed back to England the same day.

The Huguenot de Caen was well received by the Jesuits. He dined with them. There was on all sides a good understanding. No trace of the sentiment of the future was brought into prominence, which was to call for the banishment of every Protestant from New France. M. de Caen became even the godfather of an Indian child, with Madame Couillard as godmother. The Jesuits commenced to establish themselves, to study the languages, to cultivate the land. We learn that on one occasion, Père le Jeune narrowly escaped being drowned, he tells us that he was within a *Pater* of being lost. Every one seems to have striven to make the best of the situation, and if any future intention was entertained of denouncing the Huguenot as a national enemy, no trace of it was visible on the surface.

CHAPTER XI.

The English had held Canada for three years. They had now taken their departure, having restored the fort to its first owners. A century and a quarter was to pass when this cession was to be reversed. There was to be much suffering, loss, tribulation and bloodshed in the closing years of the period, when Great Britain was once more to resume the authority she was now so unwisely abdicating. The time was to come when she was to establish her permanent sway throughout the valley of the great river, the entrance to which, the fortress was built to safeguard. It was the royal bartering away of the national honour and strength which had taken the country from her grasp. Had England retained her conquest, it is difficult to speculate what the history of the world might have been. One fact is certain that it could never have been torn from her rule by force, and that the settlement of the West would have taken place at a much earlier date than it was effected. It is no extravagance to surmise that peaceful influences might have gradually led to a revolution in political opinion, to sweep away the arbitrary doctrines of the middle ages ; and that the present theories of liberty could have grown into force without the convulsions of the first French Revolution. There is much to lead to the theory that the establishment of French power in North America was an event leading to important consequences. Certainly, it was by no means to make more general, or to add to the force of those institutions, the primary object of which is the advancement, moral and material, of a people, and of their accompaniment, the universal yearning after rest and happiness.

No evidence has come down to us of the proceedings during the three years of English occupation.* Certainly, the new

* 29th July, 1629, to 13th July, 1632.

comers were not idle. Had possession been maintained, doubtless, with the characteristic courage of the race, they would have rivalled the energy and determination of New England. A comparison has often been drawn of the difference in the discoveries between those made in New France, and the want of enterprize in this respect shewn by New England. The English Colonies were shut in by the Alleghanies. Extension westwardly was not possible. Her advance was made from the Ocean shore. From Plymouth came Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and the ground work of Maine. From Virginia descended the more Southern Colonies. The one outlet from the Atlantic to the Lakes was by the Mohawk from Rome to Lake Oneida, thence descending by a tributary to Lake Ontario ; and it was not until a late date that the route was known. Certainly it was for a long period not available, owing to the peculiar disposition of the Mohawk Indians. The passage from the Hudson to Lake George and Lake Champlain was familiar to Champlain, when New York was a wilderness. Indeed that territory only became English in 1664. The spirit of adventure in New England was thus driven to maritime enterprize. It found its outlet in such expeditions as those of Phipps in 1690, and that of Walker in 1711 : in the conquest of Port Royal in 1710 and in the first conquest of Louisbourg in 1745. It is here we trace the remarkable evidence of New England activity. That the Virginians were not idle, Argall gave the French settlers of Acadia sufficient proof in 1613.

The French had the rivers to follow in every direction, and obtained a general knowledge of the geography of the country at an early date, which indeed had been made known by Champlain. He ascended the route to Lake Huron. He passed to the waters of Lake Ontario, knowing that it was from thence the Saint Lawrence flowed onwards to "the Sault." He ascended the Richelieu to Lake Champlain and Lake George. The northern Indians of Lake Huron were the allies of the French traders. In the early days of travel, when Indian attacks were made, Montreal being passed,

all danger was passed. The French ascended streams to their sources. But their passage through the country may be compared to the rocket against the sky, always brilliant, sometimes dazzling, but soon to disappear and leave no trace behind. Some few missions were dotted here and there. In the seventeenth century there was not one settlement west of Montreal. Montreal was only commenced in 1641. In 1668, a mission was sent to the Bay of Quinté. Kingston and Niagara were never anything but trading and military posts. There was a Mission at Sault St. Mary ; one at La Pointe, Lake Superior, the modern Bayfield. The southern border of this Lake has only been imperfectly settled by a mining population here and there in our own day. Detroit in 1764 was a fort attacked by the Indian Chief Pontiac. The most ancient claim to settlement by the Michigan archæologist goes to no earlier date than 1701. The local settlements of de Salle on the Illinois were composed of a few soldiers and Indians. The country was thus passed over by the Missionary Father, the trader, the *courieur de bois*. Where there was water to float a canoe, with a portage to a descending stream, there the explorer of New France was to be found, rarely to achieve little more than its discovery. It is the history of the discovery of the Ohio and the Mississippi, and only its history until ten years before the conquest, when an attempt was made to hold possession of the Ohio and its tributaries. The English colonists were shut in by the rugged broken ground of an ascending mountain range covered with impenetrable forests. Even the march under Forbes from Philadelphia to Fort du Quesne in 1755, 160 miles, lasted from July to November. While Amherst in his descent from Oswego to Montreal, with his *corps d'armée* took but twenty-seven days, and in this period he besieged and destroyed Fort Levis on the island below Ogdensburg.

It may be said that the English had been only established at Quebec when by treaty they abandoned the country. A new field of enterprise had been opened to them. The water ways which they did not possess on the eastern shores of

New England could now be ascended, and advantage could have been taken of the opportunities they now enjoyed. There would have been no difficulty in protecting themselves against the Indian. That they themselves were sensible of the future which lay before them is shewn in the report of their proceedings made to the King.

It sets forth the position of the Company at Quebec. They had two hundred people in the fort, and gone up some 400 leagues in the country for further discoveries : they had sown "upon the ground [that] which is able to find them 6 months." The fort was armed with cannon and furnished with munitions they had "vittled" from England for 18 months : "goods for to Trade with the natives of the Contrey, more than wee are able to vent in 2 yeeres," worth £6,000, besides charges which doth amount to £6,000 more. "All sorts of tools for work and fortification." They then proceed to say, "The above sayde fort is soe well situated that the are able to withstand 10000 men, and will not care for them, for whatsoever they can doe, for in winter they cannot staye in the countrey, soe that whosoever goes to beeside them the canott staye there above 3 monthes in all, in which time the muskett [mosquito] will soe torment them that noe man is able to bee abroad in centry or threnches day nor night without loosinge their sightes for att least eyght dayes.

"Soe that if it please his Majestie to keepe it, wee doe not care what French or any other can doe, thoe the have a 100 sayl of shippes and 10000 men as above sayde."*

We get a view of the occupation of Quebec during the winter 1629-30. A French carpenter and labourer who remained after the conquest were sent to London in October, 1630, and thence made their way to Paris. They reported that during the winter of 1629, fourteen out of the garrison of ninety had died, and that there had been much sickness: that there had been no attempt to cultivate the soil : that furs to the value of 300,000 livres had been obtained ; that some trifling work at the fort only had been executed ; that it was

* State paper office, Colonial papers, Vol. VI., p. 38. Laval Champlain [1435].

garrisoned with seventy men, with fourteen cannon and five lighter pieces ; well provided ; Captain Lewis Kirke continuing in command.

Champlain remained in France from the last days of 1629 to March, 1633. Nineteen years had passed since the death of Henry IV., and it was no longer the France of the Great King's creation and rule. His death had been followed by marked changes to reverse all that his wise policy had effected. A secret Council to guide the views of the Regent had been selected. Its composition established its character. Among its members were found the Pope's Nuncio, the Ambassador of the King of Spain, Concini afterwards Marquis d'Ancre, his wife, le Chevalier de Sillery, subsequently to find his way to Canada, the duc d'Epernon, and the Jesuit Father Cotton,* with others entertaining like opinions. The policy agreed upon was to unite the thrones of France and Spain ; summarily to extirpate heresy ; to renounce the ancient alliances of France, and, as a consequence, to stamp out every spark of political liberty. Sully relates that as he entered the Louvre

* Sully's Memoirs VIII., Liv. 28, p. 41. Father Cotton's name appears in strange connection with Canada. The story is related by Sully [Vol. VI., Liv. 23, p. 211]. In 1606 a Councillor of Parliament named Gillot received back a book from Father Cotton, to whom he had lent it, in which Cotton had accidentally left a MS. The writing in Cotton's hand related to one Adrienne de Fresne, who had established herself in the Convent of St. Victor. This personage represented herself to be possessed by the devil, and from time to time was exorcised from the evil spirit by those who claimed to be able to act, and on such occasions she replied to questions put to her. Father Cotton was one of those who desired to enter into communication with the devil in her person, while driving him out ; and the paper in his handwriting contained a series of questions he intended to ask. They are of the most varied and heterogeneous character. Among them appears 'touchant le voyage dans la Nouvelle France.' It was the first publication of Champlain, 'Des sauvages ou voyage de Samvel Champlain de Brouage, Fait en la France Nouvelle, l'an mil six cent trois,' published at Paris by Clavde de Monstr'ceil [1603]. The fact became known and created some sensation. De Thou mentions it, adding that although Henry IV. affected to treat the matter as a trifle he was greatly annoyed at it. The author of the Life of Père Cotton denies that the paper was in his handwriting. Sully saw the paper, and had no doubt of its genuineness, 'après avoir verifié s'il étoit véritablement de la main du Père Cotton.' The story is also of importance shewing that at this early date Canada was attracting attention.

the day after the assassination, those surrounding the Queen appeared without the least trace of sorrow, that he even saw on some faces the expression of joy.* Sully himself, when he advanced to meet Mary of Medicis, was over mastered by emotion almost beyond control. The Queen received him kindly. But, as time went on, he found his services so ill received and his position made so unpleasant, that as a matter of personal safety he held it expedient to resign his offices. The national treasures which he had accumulated were in a few years squandered by the Regent to gratify her favourites and to purchase support.

Richelieu by this time had risen to supreme power ; his success had been rapid. Until 1620 he was almost an unknown man. Father Joseph at an early date had spoken of him to the Queen, as one whose great powers could be useful to her ; and historians of that day trace his rise to the influence of Leonora Galigai, who perceived his ability and character when he had gained admission to the Court. Little notice is taken of him by his early contemporaries. As late as 1616, Ponchartrain included him, without mention of his name, in the class of those of little experience whose principal characteristic had been the support of Concini and his wife. After Henry's murder Richelieu had been appointed Almoner to Mary of Medicis. Pressed by his poverty he immediately sold the appointment *permissione superiorum* to the Bishop of Langres. The country from its former prosperity fell into the most depressed condition. The leading men of the Council, Villeroy, Jeannin and Sillery, possessed ability of a certain description, when the course of action was traced for them; but they were utterly without the administrative genius, and the strength of character to cope with the difficulties of the hour. The nobles no longer attended Court. The disturbed condition of the kingdom was such, that when the King proceeded to Bordeaux to marry Anne of Austria, his escort to protect him, amounted in numbers to a positive

* Des visages si gais qu'ils me firent joindre l'indignation à la douleur. Vol. VIII., Liv. 28, p. 32.

army. The leading spirits of the Court were the Concini. Mary de Medicis of mean intellect, with a dull phlegmatic nature, on the other hand, was marked by headstrong passions and a jealous nature. She is represented entirely without the charm of manner and female fascination which marked her countrywoman of Florence: in this respect differing from Catherine de Medicis, one of the most attractive women even in her Court.* Leonora Galigai was her foster sister, of humble origin. Her picture, as drawn, is that she was almost repulsively ugly: a black dwarf, with sinister eyes, glittering like coals of fire. It was to this woman that Concini was married. He may be described as a French Buckingham, without the questionable wit of the latter. Highly favoured in feature and figure, he could sit a horse with any man in France. He was an adept at all athletic games, a good swordsman; and his career shews that he looked upon these qualifications as the be-all of life. The chronicles of the day name him as the lover of the Queen, chosen in the spirit of Catherine of Russia. Modern historians distinctly assert the fact. Indeed there can be no other explanation for the *coup d'état* of 24th April, 1617, when he was assassinated on the Pont Neuf by the guards under Vitry, by order of De Luynes, himself authorized by the young King so to act. The Court was astonished at the marriage of this noble, graceful, brilliant cavalier, with the repellent looking personage he made his wife. The outer world could not understand the event. A man of intellect and education may lose all knowledge of the homely features of his companion in the charm of her manner, and the grace of her conversation, joined to the undying freshness of the association springing from a rich, generous noble mind. The material nature of Concini knew no such intellectual fetters. His nature was sordid and mean. He was ambitious of

* John Michele, the Venetian Ambassador, has given her portrait when forty-three years of age. He describes her courteous manners, her quiet and subdued address, her superior intelligence, her capacity for any kind of business, especially for affairs of State. She was fond of her ease and pleasure, living little by rule. Eating and drinking heartily, and finding her remedy for so doing in exercise on foot and horseback.

power ; loved money equally for the display it permitted and the sense of its possession. Leonora wanted money, only to retire and live luxuriously in the cultivated and art circles of Florence. The temptation was too strong for Concini's prudence, if he possessed any of that virtue. He continued to follow the bidding of his mistress as he had married her foster-sister to repel suspicion ; and he resolved to remain in France to gather all the fruit which his position enabled him to seize. One can read in Sully's memoirs even in the cautious mode in which he writes, how the King writhed under the influence which the pair had obtained over the Queen.

The death of Henry was a shock to Europe. Following that of the Prince of Orange,* by a quarter of a century, dictated by religious and political influences without the slightest personal element of wrong or hate, it caused an emotion, felt to this day, by every honest student of history. The Concini were held not to be ignorant that such a crime would be attempted. Certainly they shewed little sorrow when it took place. It was then the Secret Council was formed. Events assumed so threatening an aspect to those having adverse political interests, that the confederated nobles assembled at Saint Maixent, a walled town on the River Sèvre. The Peace of Loudon succeeded. The nobles, however, remained more than ever discontented : looking upon Mary de Medicis as the cause of public misfortune, they talked of shutting her up in a convent and calling the Prince de Condé to the throne. It was then that Richelieu advised the arrest of the leaders, but from the irresolution of those directing the proceeding, the Prince de Condé was the only one secured.

Richelieu at this period ceased to play the subordinate part which he had hitherto taken, and it was now that his remarkable ability was to find scope and recognition. The under Secretary was Berbin, who practically had as much power as himself ; but it was Richelieu's genius which kept the Council from disintegration. There was no money. The army had passed from the control of the Regent ; and to one of Riche-

* 1584.

lieu's literary habits and tastes' an equally extraordinary phenomenon presented itself. There were no state papers, no records; no copy of any document existed, and hence in every proceeding the difficulties were increased by the want of reliable and sufficient information.

In April, 1617, occurred the *coup d'état* of de Luynes, when the King asserted his rights and entered upon the government. Concini was killed on the Pont Neuf. Leonora, his wife, denied protection by her foster sister, the Queen, was tried as a traitor and a witch. The trial lasted from the 3rd May to the 8th July. She was found guilty of *lèse majesté* against the laws of God and man. She was beheaded, her remains burned, her ashes thrown to the wind. She met her fate with dignity and courage, without bravado. With all her faults she exacts our sympathy. 'The only sorcery I ever practised,' she told her judges, 'was that of my mind. Is it surprising that I governed the Queen who had none?'

Richelieu, after the fall of d'Ancre, was requested to continue his ministerial functions. He declined the offer, and accompanied Mary de Medicis to Blois. He was afterwards banished to Mirambeau. In 1619, the Queen escaped from Blois with the Duc d'Epernon. The whole of the nobility of Brittany rallied in her favour to sustain her cause. Her troops were beaten at the action of the Pont de Cé. The treaty of Angers followed. In 1624, Richelieu was called to the Council, and by this time his commanding talent had obtained general recognition. The difficulties against which he had to contend were serious, especially in the attitude taken by the Protestants. It was not Richelieu who troubled the Calvinists; it was they who commenced hostilities against the government. Under both him and Mazarin they were treated with consideration. Richelieu never countenanced the pretension of excluding them from New France. He possessed too great a mind, and was too enlightened a statesman. After all the trying circumstances experienced at Montauban and at La Rochelle, on the surrender of the latter, he neither demanded the demolition of the Protestant

churches, nor in any way interfered with the rites of worship. At that date there was no difficulty with regard to the religious clauses of the Edict of Nantes. The Huguenots had not become the phantoms which half a century later Madame de Maintenon and her reckless advisers were to dwell upon, to enforce on the shattered and jaded mind of the King, the Revocation as an acceptable sacrifice to heaven, as a pledge of the sincerity of his penitence and piety. It was the political aspect of Calvinism which was mischievous. Religious liberty they possessed. They asked for more. They desired to form political combinations dangerous to the Unity of France. The Duke de Rohan was encouraging the project of organising a Calvinistic Republic, and it was in opposition to this view that Richelieu acted when he arrested the political dangers with which the kingdom was threatened.

When Champlain was in France there was a pause after these events with many misgivings felt as to the future. Richelieu was then the central figure. Everything clustered round him, while he was then bent on what, at that time, was the master thought of his life, to make France united, great and prosperous.

The mischievous influence of the Queen Mother was destroyed for ever. Nevertheless, the power which she had been made the instrument of calling into action, yet remained in full vitality to exercise for a quarter of a century the controlling influence in New France. Those who possessed this strength were exercising it to exclude all pretensions but their own. In 1631, the Recollets, who had been ten years in possession of the Canadian Missions, expecting no difficulty in resuming them, were making preparations to return to Quebec. It was known in certain circles what settlement had been made as the basis of peace, and hence the cession of Quebec to France was regarded as determined. The Recollets accordingly matured their arrangements to act in accordance with it. If Leclercq be accepted as an authority, Richelieu and his niece, Madame d'Aiguillon, were in their favour. Champlain could do nothing. He told them, however, that those

who were pretending friendship to them, were secretly opposing them. The Company were the first to throw obstacles in their way. They informed the Recollets that all they could do was to allow them to proceed to Canada. Their own engagement was restricted to providing three Jesuit Fathers for each habitation ; hence, they were unable to give the Recollets a free passage. In 1632, Father Le Caron died, the Recollet historian says, from vexation of spirit. He tells us also, that while the Jesuit Convent at Quebec was not in good condition that the Recollet Convent was in fair preservation. That the Jesuits dug up the church ornaments buried by the Recollets, and establishing themselves on the Saint Charles, appropriated to their new building the title which the Recollets had adopted, ‘*Notre Dame des Anges*’ affecting to believe that the Recollets had called their Church after St. Charles.

The Recollets, finding they were prevented from sending additional Fathers to Canada, appealed to Pope Urbain VIII. He conceded to them the right to increase their number to twenty. The Company undertook to accept the new arrangement ; and the Recollets made provision to do so. Again, de Lauzon refused them permission to leave. He feared that the presence of the Recollets side by side with the Jesuits would cause difficulty. It appeared to him that the best solution of the dispute would be, that the Recollets should retire from the field, and that the Jesuits should obtain their interests by purchase. If the proposal was ever made in this direct form, it was at once rejected. It was during 1632 that these negotiations were being carried on, and they continued with all their unpleasantness certainly for twenty years. It is not impossible that they may explain Champlain’s presence in France during these months. His singular judgment and conciliatory manners, and the spirit of good nature so apparent in his writings may have been held of account in the endeavour to compose and obtain a settlement of the dispute, if settlement were possible. Be this as it may, he did not leave France till the 23rd March, 1633. It was his farewell to his native land, for

he was never again to see her shores. In thirty-three months he was to die in the city, the humble foundations of which he had laid in so much difficulty and misfortune ; thus making a further claim on the veneration of the land where his memory is imperishable.

CHAPTER XII.

Previously to Champlain's departure he received from Richelieu his commission, dated 1st March, 1632, appointing him Lieutenant, with full powers, in what in modern language would be called the Valley of the Saint Lawrence. Accordingly, he became the first Governor of Canada. On leaving France, 23rd March, 1633, his fleet consisted of three vessels, well armed, having on board two hundred persons, crew and settlers, with a goodly supply of merchandize and munitions of war. Among the passengers was a woman with two young girls. Fathers Masse and de Bréboeuf were also of the number. The complication of authority which had hitherto been the cause of difficulty remained unchanged. Within the association was a sub-association with privileges granted for five years. The latter undertook to pay the Governor, and all expenses of government, receiving the profits which would arise from trade. Hence the insufficient manner in which everything was furnished for many years. In spite of its great name and the celebrated persons it counted among its members, the Company never rose above the character of a commercial venture. It was by means like this that France thought it possible to establish a transatlantic empire, giving the meanest of support, in no way aiding individual effort, and at the same time establishing the most onerous conditions of life.

On his way out Champlain saw three English vessels of some calibre, evidently pursuing the same direction with himself. There was peace between the two countries; still trading was forbidden to all but the agents of the Company. Champlain could only foresee difficulty in their presence. For the time he contented himself with endeavouring to reach Quebec at the earliest date, determining to do his best to control events, while patiently waiting for them. There had been anxiety in

the small community with regard to the future. Father le Jeune relates that prior to starting on the expedition of 1632, the elder de Caen had informed those present that he would himself soon visit Canada. To many his presence in an official station would not have been welcome. It would have been a proof that whatever expectations had been entertained, a spirit of religious toleration would prevail, and that in reality little change would be made in the mode of administering the affairs of the Company. The presence of Champlain, on the other hand, would have suggested the continuance of the influence under which the Jesuits had proceeded to Canada : a perseverance in the principle laid down under the administration of the Duke de Ventadour. Champlain appeared to settle all speculation. He arrived on the 22nd May. With drums beating, his small squadron of soldiers marched to the fort : Emeric de Caen gave the keys to du Plessis Bochard, the latter to Champlain, who thus assumed command.

Two days afterwards eight canoes from the west arrived at Quebec. Champlain at once understood that the object in view was to proceed to Tadousac to trade with the three English vessels, the arrival of which had been reported to him. They had detached a smaller vessel to ascend the river: in itself a proof that the transactions of the English with the Indians during the time of their occupation had at least created no unfavourable impression. It was a proceeding to be prevented at any cost, and called for all Champlain's diplomacy. Accordingly he convened a meeting of the chiefs, many of whom he knew, and addressed them. He reminded the chiefs that he had fought for them, and had been wounded by their side, that he had returned once more to aid and counsel them; that he was desirous of satisfying their wishes as best he was able. On their side he asked them not to have intercourse with those who had injured the French, and had again appeared to rob them. Champlain's appeal was not in vain. He carried his audience with him. They thanked him for his kind words, marked by the old ring of wisdom and wit, and they accepted his advice.

To do away with all cause for the Indians proceeding to Quebec, he fortified an island at the head of the Richelieu rapids, fifteen leagues from Quebec, half way to Three Rivers.* The place was so situated that with cannon, it commanded the ascent of the river, and was convenient for trade and barter. The arrangement was not immediately accepted, but the Indians in a short time visited the island to trade. After his absence of four years, Champlain returned to find the country threatened by the Iroquois ; accordingly he detached a small vessel up the river to protect the descending Hurons. The expedition was marked by misadventure. Some sailors in a small boat going ashore to attach a hawser, so that they could haul the vessel round a point, were suddenly attacked by a party of Mohawks in ambush. Two of them were immediately killed and four wounded. It was only the advance of the second boat which saved the rest of the party. Nevertheless, whatever the general insecurity, the Huron canoes continued to arrive for the purpose of trade. In their passage down the Ottawa the old difficulty arose ; the Indians of the Island † looking jealously on the relations of the Huron Indians with Quebec. They were desirous themselves of being the intermediaries. Their policy was, that the Hurons should trade with them, and they with the French, so that the greater part of the profit should be theirs. An occasion presented itself to make this principle actively mischievous. Etienne Brûlé, an interpreter, had been murdered by an Algonquin. He had no particular claim on Champlain, for he had given his services to the English : but he was still a Frenchman, and from mere policy the crime could not be left unpunished. The murderer was known, and on his appearing at Quebec, had been arrested, and at this period, was held as a prisoner.

* The island is identified as Richelieu Island to the west of Point au Platon, known at that period as Pointe de la Sainte Croix. A lighthouse is now constructed on it. The current is rapid in its vicinity, and the approach to the island by canoes must have been difficult.

† Allumette Island.

As the Hurons were descending the Ottawa the story of these events was repeated to them. The arrest of the murderer was related as a warning to deter them from proceeding further. Nevertheless, they continued their route easterly, and one hundred and forty canoes arrived, containing from five to seven hundred Indians. The ceremonial interchange of good offices took place, councils, feasts, followed by trade and barter. It was arranged that three of the Jesuit Fathers, de Brébœuf, Daniel and Daoust should return with the expedition to the Huron country. It now appeared to the Island Indians a good opportunity to create ill feeling, the prisoner was of their tribe. The attempt was made to create sympathy on his behalf, and his release was now demanded. The appeal was not entertained. To have acceded to the request would have been attributed to a sense of weakness dictating compliance. An unfavourable answer was doubtless looked for, for on Champlain's refusal, those who had taken part in the agitation affirmed that any punishment of the man would lead to cruel reprisals, and that the Algonquins of the Island would revenge the death of their relative on such of the French as were of this party, thus directly threatening the lives of the missionaries. It is never difficult to awaken the jealousy of the savage. The prospect of an attack on the ascent of the Ottawa was much feared by the Hurons themselves, because it would have led to war between tribes at that period allies and friends. The Hurons accordingly were so far influenced as to decline to receive the Fathers in their canoes : precisely the course desired by the Indians of the Island, as they were strongly opposed to any of the French proceeding to the west. Champlain endeavoured to soothe matters by agreeing to refer the difficulty to the so-called Island King. The policy did not succeed. The priests therefore were unable to proceed westward, and remained at Quebec until the following year, 1634, when they took their departure. One point Champlain gained. There was no intercourse with the English vessels by the Saint Lawrence. If any trade was carried on at Tadousac with them, it was by the Indians.

who passed up the river to the north at Mattawan, to descend the Saguenay to Tadousac.

The short period during which Champlain lived to perform the duties of Governor was marked by his usual ability and the conscientious discharge of every obligation. His wife did not accompany him on his voyage. Indeed, she is lost to history, after her return to France in 1624. Champlain was childless : he was no longer young, he was now sixty-seven years old. It is plain, however, that he retained all his former vigour and energy. Within four months of his death, his letter to Cardinal Richelieu, pointing out the true policy to be followed in Canada, plainly shews that his intellect retained its characteristic force and clearness. He rigorously observed the regulations of the Company, that liquor should not be given to the Indians.* His government was that of a gently felt but firm hand ; at the same time he obtained the good word of all. With the Jesuits he was always on the best of terms. He attended their religious services, and dined with them as de Caen had done. His prudence and the discipline he enforced are commended by them. He constructed a church near the fort, not far from the site where the English Cathedral now stands, to which the name of "Notre Dame de la Recouvrance" was given. It has been said that this step was taken on account of a vow made by him in France. There is not the slightest ground for this fanciful statement. It was the first Parish Church of Quebec, necessary as immigrants were arriving, of whom an additional number was looked for. Its construction was a purely official act. We are also asked to believe that Champlain introduced among the troops the habits observed at a school or a monastery ; that some approved history was read during the morning meal, and the Lives of the Saints in the evening. With more probability it is affirmed, that in the evening, in his chamber, he subjected his conscience to strict examination, and his prayers made on his knees followed. It is evident by what he wrote, and by his actions, that throughout his life he was a

* Relations, 1632, p. 32.

man sustained by strong religious convictions. One regulation which Champlain instituted remains in force to this day. He directed that in New France, the *Angelus** should be rung at morning, mid-day and noon : a social as well as a religious necessity, in a community where there were few clocks, watches or sun-dials, the advantage of which he could not fail to see. He assisted the missionaries, even in minor matters. A baptized Indian, La Nasse, dying and being buried as a Christian, he sent those under his orders to attend the funeral, knowing how the savage is affected by ceremony. In July, 1634, he gave instructions for building a fort at Three Rivers. For some years it had been a trading post which the Recollets had visited from time to time. It was now the seat of the Jesuit Mission. ‘The Conception’ which had been established by Fathers le Jeune and Buteux, the latter of whom, a few years later, was murdered on the Saint Maurice, north of Three Rivers. Champlain personally selected the spot, and is reported as returning thence on the 4th August.

This was the last important act of his life. On Christmas day, 1635, Champlain died in his sixty-ninth year. No details have come to us of his illness or his death. We have, however, in the will asserted to be his, a proof that he was helpless, unable to sign his name. Evidently he suffered from paralysis in some form, which incapacitated him for duty for some weeks before his death. Everything regarding his last hours must be speculation, for nothing has come down to us concerning them. We know, however, that he was universally mourned in the little settlement. Every one followed him to the grave. There was one common pang of sorrow felt throughout the community. Père le Jeune preached his funeral sermon, and as Champlain’s corpse was placed in its

* The “Angelus” is so called from the short Latin prayer made at the hour indicated by the ringing of the church bell. The bell is rung at early morn, at noon, and at seven in the evening. In summer the morning hour is six, in winter it is seven. The time is precisely observed as a guide for families. The prayer is from St. Luke i., 38 : “Ecce ancilla Domini : fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum.” The text continues : “et abut ab ea angelus.”

last home, there arose the common feeling that a good, a great, a noble man had passed away, to live in memory as an eternal legacy.

Until the last few years there has been doubt where his remains were placed.* It has been said that *Notre Dame de la Recouvrance* was built near the fort, and some years later there was a small adjoining chapel added, which bore the name of the Governor's Chapel. In 1640, these buildings were destroyed by fire. It has been somewhat of a puzzle to the students of ecclesiastical history, how a funeral mass in May, 1641, could have been said in a burnt building. The difficulty lay in the statement that the Governor de Montmagny decided that the remains of Père Raymbault should be laid beside those of Champlain, which had been placed in a special spot, devoted to his memory;† and the parish register accordingly sets forth that he was buried in "Champlain's Chapel." It is known that there is no mention of any such building having been constructed by Champlain himself, and it has accordingly been suggested that the building was an addition to the Governor's Chapel, and that Champlain's remains had been placed there.

During the excavation for the water works at Quebec, in 1856, at the foot of Champlain stairs, descending to Champlain street, a roughly constructed vault was found over seven feet English broad, and six feet high, which contained a coffin in a state of decay and some bones. The site is at the foot of the steeper ascent, whence it gently slopes down to the river; before it was covered with houses, it had a full southern aspect, perfectly protected from the northern winds. The

* I am indebted for the account of Champlain's tomb to the pamphlet of the Abbés Laverdière and Casgrain, 1867. The former, the Editor of the *Laval Champlain*, died at an early age. His name will ever be honourably remembered in Canadian literature for the honesty, fidelity and ability with which his labours were completed. The Abbé Casgrain is equally known for his devotion to the interests of historic truth. The pamphlet, a model of succinct writing, in my humble judgment, thoroughly established the case it presents. It is a matter of regret that the discovery was not earlier known to these much respected ecclesiastics.

† *Relations 1643.*

vault was found to the east of Sous le Fort street. The buildings of Champlain were constructed in the neighbourhood where Notre Dame now meets the lateral street. It was precisely the situation which in the circumstances would be selected as the resting place of those who had died in the cause of their country, far away from its associations. It was not then foreseen that in a few years it would be crowded with buildings, clustered according to the theory of that day, closely side by side. At the time it must have been marked by much quiet beauty ; at the foot of the heights, with its protected position, always exposed to the warm sun, with its natural drainage, it must in summer have been covered with wild flowers, suggesting the use to which it was applied : the burial ground of the soldier or the priest who had died at his post.

Human remains have been found near this spot from time to time, without attracting particular attention, so little notice was taken of the discovery. The bones were gathered and buried, no one precisely recollects where. After an interval of ten years, circumstances led to the investigation of the event. The old vault had been applied to the mechanical uses of the water works, it had consequently been partially defaced. Nevertheless, a careful examination was made, and some letters with the trace of others could be found. There is strong ground for belief that they formed part of the epitaph "Samuel de Champlain."

To some extent the conclusion that this grave is that of Champlain must be a matter of theory. The evidence, however, establishes that this vault contained the body of some eminent person. Undoubtedly de Montmagny erected a tomb over Champlain, which, doubtless, formed the basis of a chapel to be called by his name.* There is mention of no other such proceeding. No man of the eminence of Champlain to whom such an honour would be paid died at that date. Everything suggests that it was his grave which was so

* près du corps du feu Monsieur de Champlain qui est dans vn sépulchre particulier erigé exprès pour honorer la memoire de ce signalé personage qui a tant obligé la Nouuelle France. Relations, 1643. p. 3.

ruthlessly disturbed by the necessities and requirements of modern civilization. And if events led to its being so far dishonoured, we at least possess the satisfaction of knowing where his bones were laid and where yet some tablet may be erected to commemorate the fact.

There was a dispute about the so-called will of Champlain, which led to legal proceedings ; they were held of such importance as to be recorded among the civil *causes célèbres*.* It was set forth that it was made in the presence of eight persons, and one La Ville, who called himself Clerk of the Municipality. The will was written in the first person, in a handwriting not of Champlain, but of some person not named. It gave to the Jesuit College at Quebec all his furniture, of use and value in the country at that date, and 4,000 livres.† The will was immediately contested in France. It was affirmed by the *Prévôté* of Paris. This decision was appealed from by his heirs, 15th March, 1639. The Advocate General representing them, set up, that it was in no way the act of Champlain, that the signature was not his, that it had not been passed before notaries, that the pretended City Clerk had no power to make wills, and that the heirs were poor. In this sentence we have the satisfaction of knowing that Champlain's memory is not stained by the acquisition of unscrupulously gained dishonest wealth. The defence was simply that the legacy was moderate and for a good cause and should not be contested. The court decided that the will was irregular and must be annulled.

There are few men whose characteristics can be more distinctly traced than those of Champlain ; there are few careers which more satisfactorily sustain the examination bestowed upon them. There is no moral leaven to weaken the regard and esteem with which Champlain's character must be consid-

* Bardet, Recueils d'Arrêts du Parlement de Paris tome 2, p. 350. Nouvelle Edit. par Lalaure. Avignon, 1773. La Patrie, Montreal, No. 234. 1st December, 1884.

† £160 sterling—to-day equal to about £800.

ered. It is seldom that we become acquainted with a life in which the pure, tranquil, constant advance of an individualism can be so fully traced.* We have him before us in the first years of manhood when he ranged himself on the side of the Great Henry, in the unfortunate religious wars of France, which equally involved personal freedom and liberty of conscience, to be throughout his career consistent in his devotion to the cause of good government and wise legislation. To the last we recognize unchanged, the chivalrous devotion to duty, the keen, unfailing observation, the broad theories of statesmanship, the wide comprehensiveness of view, the calm, self-reliant courage, blended with the high tone of personal honour and truth, without which every special gift in life is vain, false and fallacious. His memory is entirely unstained by the slightest abuse of his trust. There is no character known to us in the British or French history of the American Continent to modern days, which can advance higher claims to honourable fame.

If I were to make a comparison between Champlain and any historic name which we possess, it would be with that of Julius Cæsar, with whose excellencies and genius he bears strong relationship, unalloyed by those vices and that social deformity which marked Roman life. Much of the bright side of Cæsar's character is repeated in that of Champlain, his equanimity, his liberal opinions, his triumph over difficulty and misfortune, his modesty and ability in relating his actions, his high-bred stoicism. We have here much in common with the two. We read of the darker shades, which malignity has cast on Cæsar's fame, and in vain seek to find they disfigure Champlain's reputation. That the great Roman has been unjustly vilified, and his name loaded with unproved scandals is admitted. Some excellencies certainly they had in common. Cæsar turned with disgust from the coarse eating and drinking of the Roman patricians. Champlain's moderation can

* Es sind wenige Biographen, welche einen reinen, ruhigen stäten Fortschritt des Individuum darstellen können. Goethe, Wahrheit und Dichtung, 3rd part, Book I., p. 29.

everywhere be traced. Both cultivated the elevating and consoling pursuits of literature. Cæsar was fondly attached to his sister. His mother, Aurelia, a grave Roman matron, lived with him to his death. At the risk of his life he refused, at Sulla's bidding, to divorce his wife, Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, whom he had married to identify himself with the popular cause. Champlain was the best of husbands. It was doubtless the condition of his wife's health which led her to remain in France. Scandal follows every name of eminence. Indeed the fact is often a god-send to those who have obtained power by unscrupulous means. Their sycophants urge the argument in extenuation of accusations which cannot be disproved. But the Nemesis of history is certain ; hereafter we shall all be judged by our deeds. Our career will live when the hour of venal, insincere praise has passed away. It is the standard to be applied to men of the importance of Cæsar or Champlain. The good and bad reports come to the surface, and we judge of their truth by the revelations which time unfailingly makes. We learn even the personal habits of such men. In this case both were scrupulously abstemious ; both careless of food as a luxury ; both active and excelling in feats of personal strength and endurance. Both the truest of friends. Both avoiding quarrels. Both easily appeased when offended. Neither marked by a mean, malignant spirit of revenge, so prominent a feature in a common, ignoble mind. Both possessing that quiet high-bred charm of manner which at once establishes the gentleman ; both with that natural courtesy which made their society so unfailingly agreeable. We are told that on one occasion Cæsar took some rancid oil without comment, when others refused it, to avoid hurting the feelings of his host. Champlain partook of an Indian *tabagie* as if he were at the table of the Viceroy. His wit was always sparkling. "You always say something merry to enliven us,"* said an Indian Captain to him. When in England, Champlain com-

* Tu nous dis tousiours quelque chose de gaillard pour nous resouir.

Relation, 1633, p. 28.

plained his diet was too good, for he feared he could not afford to pay for it. Both had remarkable health to within a few months of their death. It was not the fate of Champlain to fall in the tumult of malignant political hate, so at this point their lives diverge.

Like Cæsar, Champlain presents himself as a man of action and a man of letters. I have endeavoured to trace his character for the thirty years his name appears in Canadian annals. What one name do we possess of greater prominence? One only can be ranged by its side, that of Wolfe. Four personages, however, present themselves in the period of French rule of the highest reputation. La Salle, de Frontenac, Montcalm, and de Levis. That of d'Iberville, possibly, should not be omitted. There are other reputations, brilliant and remarkable; but they are secondary in character and in lives without result. No one can dispute the genius of the four characters I adduce. La Salle, however, unfortunately for his reputation, acted disingenuously. He was led away by schemes of personal advantage which he failed to carry out from his want of power of organization. De Frontenac, with courage and with much that is noble, had a hard, unscrupulous nature, and was careless of the means by which he effected his purpose. We can never forget that he was one of the first to pursue the policy of ruthlessly sending armed expeditions to destroy the unprotected, unsuspecting inhabitants of the advanced settlements of New England and New York, sweeping away whole communities of men, women and children, as if they had been mere trees on the land he desired to clear. Montcalm, with his simple, noble, generous nature, had much in common with Champlain. But no comparison can be made between them, and less, with de Levis, undoubtedly marked by great qualities. Indeed, we know little of him beyond his courage, his soldiership and his capacity to make the best of any situation in which he might be placed; the same must be said of d'Iberville. But there is no trace in any of these men of the mental power and the nobility of nature everywhere observable in Champlain's delicate and highly organized genius.

Judged by his writings, Champlain comes before us as with a rare modesty, and a careful observance of truth, so that his statements obtain immediate acceptance. A quiet humour runs through much of what he tells us. He does not sacrifice reality to effect. We have a clear and full picture of the events which happened in his day. It was he who saw the greater advantage of settlement in Canada to that in Acadia, and that those who held the Saint Lawrence held Canada ; whereas the many bays and harbours in the Bay of Fundy and on the Atlantic Coast, furnished opportunity for the establishment of rival settlements, which, when they gained strength, might prove aggressive and dangerous. To him, discovery was not merely sailing up the waters of a river and never penetrating a league from its shores. His genius was to advance to distant localities, to learn the resources of a country, its character, the extent of the population of the native tribes, and to study their manners and customs. He saw that the only means of gaining this end was by identifying himself with the Indians, with whom he had entered into friendly relations. His discoveries were remarkable. He made known from personal examination the Ottawa, Lake Huron, Lake Ontario, the Saint Lawrence, which he correctly described, and Lake Champlain. He indeed traced out the southern portion of the Province of Ontario, without the precise minor details. As Cæsar employed the Gaul, so Champlain availed himself of the Indian. At an early date he clearly understood the mode of establishing New France on a prosperous and firm basis. It had to be grounded on irresistible force employed with moderation and gentleness. Had he lived, it is possible that his influence with Richelieu would have led to the policy which, under de Tracy, obtained quiet for Canada. His death threw the government into other hands. It is owing to their failure that his memory has been assailed. The misfortunes which their poverty of resource was unable to avert, have been attributed to his interference in the Indian wars. It was the remembrance of this fact, it has been stated, which led to the hostility of the Iroquois against the white man of New France. A charge disproved

by the narrative of the events which I have endeavoured to give ; by the results which happened in the miserable governments which followed his death, and by the peace which a vigorous policy at once obtained. Champlain founded Quebec and Three Rivers, and he pointed out to de Maisonneuve the site of Montreal. He prepared the way at Point à Callières, in that city, for others to follow him : and when Canada was conquered by the British, one hundred and twenty years later, the limit of Canada, as a political community, had not been extended.

For the first sixty years of French occupation the life of Champlain is the history of Canada. The first thirty years are marked by the results which he accomplished, and those which his writings shew he desired to accomplish : the last twenty-five years have the stamp of the failure which arose from the non-observance of his policy. Before the French Government assumed authority over Canada in 1663, the country had drifted into ruin. The population remained stationary ; commerce was paralyzed ; the people were divided in feeling and sentiment. There was no protection to life or property. The husbandman who sowed his seed could not count on his life to reap it ; the wife who saw her husband depart in the morning to his work was not certain he would return to partake of the meal she was preparing.

Any systematic protection of the country was not attempted. It has been seen what difficulty Champlain experienced in the construction of the fort at Quebec. The undertaking was constantly interrupted, and was carried out under continued opposition. Champlain was impressed with its necessity, not simply as a protection in itself, but as a material creation, representative of power and strength. So he fortified the island now known as Ile Richelieu, fifteen leagues from Quebec. So he established, a few months before his death, the fort at Three Rivers. Had Champlain's representations found favour, and had means been given him to enforce his policy, it seems almost a matter of certainty that New France would have grown into a strong, permanently established power.

No statue, no monument has been raised to Champlain's memory. No memorial exists to teach the youth of the Dominion what excellence there is in a noble, honest life, marked by devotion to duty, and an utter disregard of self. Canada has shewn no honour to his name. It remained in modern days for Laval University to disseminate the true perpetuation of his genius, in the record of his life and labours. It is a contribution never to pass away, and one by which Laval has established an enduring claim to consideration in the world-wide Republic of letters.

It may happen that years will elapse before honour is paid to Champlain's fame by some national token of regard and respect. Whether or no, that fame will defy equally time and depreciation. Other statues may be raised. Champlain's name may still experience neglect ; but, nevertheless, his fame is eternal. The more known, the more revered. The absence of a memorial will prove no detraction to his virtues, or lessen the character of his actions. It is a blot only on those who, having the power to recognise this claim, have failed to perform their duty. Champlain's name is imperishably written in the first and foremost pages of his country's history : it is that of a man of genius, of pure and untarnished honour : the true founder of Canada.

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE DATES OF THE VOYAGES MADE BY CHAMPLAIN TO AND FROM NEW FRANCE:—

Edition 1603.

- [1.] 1603. Left Honfleur 15th March, arrived at Tadousac 24th May; returned to France, arriving at Havre de Grace 20th September.

Edition 1613.

- [2.] 1604. Left Havre de Grace 7th April, arrived at Cape de la Have 8th May.

1605-1606. Passed in Acadia.

1607. Left Campseau 3rd September, arrived at Roscou, Brittany 28th September. 30th September started for St. Malo.

- [3.] 1608. Left Honfleur 5th April, arrived at Tadousac 3rd June. In Canada winter, 1608-9.

1609. Left Quebec 1st September, arrived at Honfleur 13th October.

- [4.] 1610. Left Honfleur 7th March, arrived at Tadousac 26th April.

Left Quebec 8th August, Tadousac 13th, arrived at Honfleur 27th September.

- [5.] 1611. Left Honfleur 1st March, arrived at Tadousac 13th, Quebec 21st May.

Left Quebec 20th July, arrived at La Rochelle 16th September.

1612. Remained in France.

- [6.] 1613. Left Honfleur 6th March, arrived at Tadousac 29th April.

Left Tadousac 8th July, arrived at St. Malo, 26th August.

1614. Remained in France.

Edition 1619.

- [7.] 1615. Left Honfleur 24th April, arrived at Tadousac 25th May. Passed winter, 1615-16 in Canada.

1616. Left Tadousac 3rd August, arrived at Honfleur 10th September.

[8.] 1617. No published account has been given by Champlain of this voyage. It was at this date the first colonist, Hébert, reached Canada. We are indebted to Sagard and Le Clercq for the details we possess.

Left Honfleur 11th April, arrived at Tadousac 14th June. The passage was unusually stormy.

[9.] 1618. Left Honfleur 24th May, arrived at Tadousac 24th June, St. John's day.

Left Quebec 26th July, arrived at Honfleur 28th August.

1619. Champlain in France.

Nothing is published by Champlain between 1619 and 1632.

Edition 1632.

[10.] 1620. Started 8th May, arrived at Tadousac 7th July. Madame de Champlain came out.

1622-23. In Canada.

1624. Left Quebec 15th August, arrived at Dieppe 1st October. Madame de Champlain returned to France.

1625. Champlain in France.

[11.] 1626. Left Dieppe 24th April, arrived at Quebec 5th July. 1627-28-29. At Quebec.

1629. Quebec taken by Kirke 19th July.

Champlain returned with Kirke a prisoner to London, arrived 29th October.

1630-31-32. Champlain in France.

[12.] 1633. Left Dieppe for Canada 23rd March, arrived at Quebec 22nd May. [Père le Jeune.]

1635. 25th December, died.

"from that full meridian of my glory,
I haste now to my setting. I shall fall
Like a bright exhalation in the evening,
And no man see me more."

HENRY VIII., III., 2.

THE KIRKE FAMILY.

With all the distinctness which we possess of the character and family of Kirke, they have been systematically misrepresented. Writer after writer has described Kirke as a renegade Huguenot Frenchman. He was born in the Parish of Norton, in North Derbyshire, the son of Gervase Kirke, of a family of some pretension, which had been for several generations in the county. In early life, Gervase Kirke was apprenticed to a merchant in London, and in his career was established at Dieppe, where he married Elizabeth Goudon in 1596. There were five sons and two daughters from this marriage, the eldest of whom was David Kirke, born in 1597. So at the period of the conquest of Quebec he was thirty-two years of age. Lewis, his brother, was two years younger. Gervase Kirke died 17th December, 1629, and was buried in All Hallow's Church, Bread street, London, about two months after his son's return from Quebec.

The money which was payable under the Treaty of St. Germain on the cession of Canada to the French, was never received. In 1630, Kirke married Sara, the daughter of Sir Joseph Andrews, who proved a devoted wife to him in the difficulties which beset his career in Newfoundland; to which place, his fortunes were transferred and where he died. As early as 1622, Sir George Calvert had obtained the grant of the Island. He had been Secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, Clerk of the Privy Council, and about this period he was raised to the peerage as Lord Baltimore. In 1624 he became a Roman Catholic, and in the same year he determined to move himself and his family to Newfoundland, as he experienced some unpleasantness on account of the change in his religion: moreover, he had received from his agent an exaggerated report of the condition of the Island, never destined to be borne out in fact. The real condition of matters caused him much disappointment. Accordingly, he determined to abandon the settlement, and applied to the King for a grant elsewhere. James advised him to proceed to Ireland. Finally, he received a patent for Maryland. In 1632, he died, before proceeding thither; the settlement of Maryland being made by his son, Cecil. Newfoundland was, therefore, abandoned, and so remained until 1637, when Sir David Kirke obtained a grant of the Island, with the powers of Count Palatine. The civil war broke out. The Kirkes were devoted Loyalists. David Kirke held Newfoundland for the King. Lewis and Thomas Kirke joined the royal army. Thomas Kirke was killed shortly after Edgehill in a cavalry skirmish. Lewis Kirke was subsequently knighted for his gallantry. During the Commonwealth, he was held as a malignant and fined £151. After the restoration, he was appointed Captain and Paymaster of the Gentlemen at Arms. Sir David Kirke advised the King to proceed to Newfoundland and recommended to Prince Rupert, to bring the Royal Fleet thither, but the Parliamentary navy made that proceeding impossible. In the days of the Commonwealth, Kirke was assailed as a malignant. He was summoned to London. Finally, it was declared that he had no authority under Charles Stuart, and his property was forfeited. He returned to Newfoundland in 1652, and was again in England in 1653. He managed to interest Cromwell's son-in-law, Colonel Claypole, in his behalf, and by that means obtained the removal of the sequestration of his estates, giving a bond hereafter to answer any charge brought against him. He died in the winter

of 1655-56, in his fifty-ninth year. For twenty years he had been sole owner of Newfoundland. He had encouraged emigration, and protected the Fisheries from pirates, obtaining a revenue by the tax paid for the use of "the stayes" necessary to dry the fish, and much of the future prosperity of Newfoundland may be attributed to his rule.

It would seem scarcely possible that, with the record of Kirke's services, and his devotion to the royal cause, and from the fact that Baltimore had abandoned Newfoundland, indeed it is expressly stated in the grant to Kirke "the said Lord Baltimore deserting the sayd plantation in his life tyme," Sir David Kirke's heirs would not have been allowed quietly to enter into possession of his property. It did not so happen. In 1660, Cecil, Lord Baltimore put in a claim to the Island, based on his father's grant. The claim was recognised, and the Kirkes were ordered to give up possession. The property having been taken from the family, an attempt was again made to obtain the money due them, by the treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye, payment of which had been promised as having been expended for the forts of Canada and Nova Scotia, and in improving the plantations and trade between 1628-32, amounting to £60,000.

The sum demanded was £53,000 : it was never paid or even recognised, or any attempt made to obtain payment. Charles II. was too devoted to the French Crown as its pensioner to raise unpleasant questions at Versailles. Thus, he complacently permitted the wrong to be inflicted on the children of those who had served England and his father so well ; and it may be inferred that their last years were passed in straitened circumstances.

BOOK II.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHAMPLAIN, 1635, TO THE INCORPORATION OF CANADA WITH THE KINGDOM OF FRANCE, 1663, AS A ROYAL PROVINCE.

CHAPTER I.

The cession of Quebec by England forcibly appealed to the public sentiment of France ; at the same time the reconstruction of the Company under Richelieu increased this feeling, and gave an impetus to the attention then directed to Canada. Many persons were thus encouraged to seek beyond the Atlantic the prosperity and comfort which they had failed to obtain in their place of birth. In 1632, little had been done beyond taking possession of the country by Emeric de Caen ; but when Champlain returned to Canada in 1633, his vessels contained two hundred persons. In 1634, three vessels arrived, followed by that of Admiral du Plessis ; among the new comers were M. Giffard and his family. He was the first Seigneur of Canada, having received the grant of Beauport. He had been previously in Acadia, and was one of the prisoners captured by Kirke in the fleet of de Roquemont. His arrival is worthy of notice, as he brought with him artizans and colonists, and laid the foundation of the Village of Beauport, six miles east of Quebec, the first of the character formed in the country. The districts in France more immediately affected by the national sentiment were Perche and the northern seaports of Normandy and Bretagne. Rouen in its central position had been identified with Canadian commerce. In the earlier years the emigration was principally from Perche and Normandy. On one side there was the hope that a new career would be opened to those struggling unceasingly with poverty ; with others we may trace the love of adventure, and weariness of the prosaic side of life. A more favoured class were led by a sentiment of religious fervour, to aid by personal sacrifice in the conversion of the Indian. There is no account of the extent of the emigration, but it must have been limited. It is evident, moreover, that many of those who came over, shortly afterwards left the colony.

It was the publication of the Jesuit Relations in France which created the spirit of enterprize, and for the first thirty years the Jesuits had control of the missions and directed the religious observances of the settlements. They received at a critical period of their career a munificent gift, which greatly affirmed their position. A gentleman of Picardy, René Rohault, joining the order, implored his family to cede to them what patrimony he would inherit. His father, the Marquis de Gamache, offered the sum of 16,000 crowns. In 1637, the Jesuits having obtained a concession of land, in the following year this money admitted of the commencement of a building adjoining the church, near the fort. The precise population of Quebec at this date is not recorded. In 1641 it reached but 240 souls.

In 1634 proceedings were taken to reconstitute the Huron missions. Fathers Daniel, de Bréboeuf, and Davoust, went to Three Rivers to meet the Hurons, who had arrived for the purpose of trade, in order to effect an arrangement by which the journey could be made. The number of Hurons attending on this occasion was not so numerous as was generally the case. They had lately met with a reverse in war; the forerunner of much suffering. The Iroquois having heard that five hundred Hurons were advancing against them, met them with a party of fifteen hundred. In the engagement two hundred Hurons were killed, and many taken prisoners: it was this disaster which had reduced the number at Three Rivers. There was the usual Algonquin attempt to prevent the ascent of the missionaries through their territory. The Admiral du Plessis, who was present, made every effort to assist the fathers in their project of ascending the Ottawa. The only arrangement which could be effected was that Fathers de Bréboeuf and Daniel, with a young man named Baron, obtained places in the canoes which were leaving. Father Davoust and the remaining five Frenchmen accompanying the mission could in no way be accommodated, and were unable to start.

Those ascending were so pressed for room that they left much of their baggage behind; a serious inconvenience, shewing the

enthusiasm by which the Jesuits were sustained. M. du Plessis, whose influence had been instrumental in smoothing over the difficulties, fired a salute on their departure. The fathers left so suddenly that they were unable to write to their Superior. At the Long Sault they met some descending Hurons, by whom such letters as they could write were carried to Quebec. These devoted men suffered great hardship in the ascent. They became members of the crew, and had to row and paddle as the Indians, to carry the burdens across the portages, to sleep as they could, harassed by flies, a minor misery which the Northern European cannot even imagine. At the same time they were imperfectly fed and badly clothed. The separation from their friends and their baggage fortunately proved only temporary. Other canoes arrived. Not only the remainder of those destined to the missions were able to proceed, but room was found for the baggage.

Such was the commencement of the Huron missions after the return of the French to Canada.

The death of Champlain established in the small community the political position of the Jesuits. It was that of being the only ecclesiastics in the country, holding the power of dictating its policy; a position which they held for thirty years. Those who carefully read and weigh the events of this period will have little difficulty in forming the opinion whether this influence was wisely exercised. Père le Jeune had been placed in possession of sealed instructions to be acted upon only in case of emergency. As the funeral cortège left the grave, the letters were opened and read in church. The Commandant of the newly constructed fort at Three Rivers, M. de Chasteaufort, had been appointed to act as Governor in case of any extraordinary event. The Jesuit Father had accordingly possessed the unusual power of superseding Champlain, when he had deemed it advisable. It does not read that it was only on the death of the Governor that his successor should act. In such case a legitimate provision against the contingency was necessary. It is difficult to recognise why mystery had been observed, if the arrange-

ment did not embrace some considerations beyond loss of life. In accordance with this authority M. de Chasteaufort filled the position of Administrator of the Government until the arrival of M. de Montmagny.

It has been said that Champlain died on Christmas day, 1635. The appointment of M. de Montmagny was made in Paris as early as the following March. Either Champlain must himself have sent his resignation after his letter in August to Richelieu; or some communication must have been forwarded to France, notifying the Company that his illness threatened fatal results: or it may have been felt that some other appointment was necessary. This communication may have been sent by the last ship leaving Quebec; or have been taken by a small vessel to Gaspé, and there have been transferred to a whaling ship. It may have been determined not to extend the period of government beyond the three years for which Champlain had been appointed. In the renewal of de Montmagny's commission there are words to warrant this view;* although the principle was not acted upon in his case. Judging the facts as we possess them, it is not improbable that the successor of Champlain was determined before his death was known. It is perfectly plain that the appointment of de Montmagny, dated the 10th March, 1636, in Paris, must have been made without regard to the death of Champlain, which took place on the 25th December in Canada. Even in the modern days of steam navigation, without the aid of the telegraph it would be impossible at that time of the year to send any intelligence by the Saint Lawrence, the river ceasing to be navigable owing to ice at the end of November. It does not seem improbable that had Champlain lived, he would in the spring have been removed from his government.

For the next twenty-eight years of the history of Canada, our main alliance is in the record of events as they are given in the Jesuit Relations; the letters of the Mère de l'Incarnation; and the Jesuits' Journal, commencing 1645, and continued until 1668.

* *Edits et Ordonnances III., p. 15.*

The Conseil Souverain of Quebec was established 18th September, 1663. Previous to that date there are the 'Registres de l'Ancien Conseil.' It is not known where they are deposited. There is likewise the 'Registres Civiles' of the Prévôté de Quebec as some guide, but they are not yet available to public investigation. In other respects there are but few documents to guide us with regard to this period.

If the influence of the Jesuits enabled them to exclude the Recollets from Canada, the latter had their friends in France, with whom the treatment they were receiving caused great indignation, so that the Jesuits publicly denied having in any way created the annoyance from which the Recollets were suffering. In 1637 leave was again obtained for their departure, and again withdrawn. We are informed that Guillaume Gallion, one of the Recollet fathers, died from vexation of spirit. Father Lalemant, owing to the dissatisfaction expressed, wrote two letters to exculpate his order. The historian of the Recollets tells us that there was a strong party in Canada who desired their return, and that on three occasions they incurred great expense in the view of proceeding thither. There was difficulty in understanding why jealousy should be felt, for the extent of country could give full employment to many missionaries. M. de Lauson remained their steady opponent. His frivolous objections were, that the constitution of their order made them unfit for a new colony, as they would not establish villages, bourgs or seigneuries. The Recollets replied that it was true that they would be as poor after centuries as when they began, and that any property they obtained would be for the use of their missions. Finding the prohibition continued, the Recollets petitioned Anne of Austria, who is represented as favourable to them, for leave to proceed to Canada. It was granted ; but influences prevailed for the condition to be added, that the consent of the Company should be gained.[†] There was further delay ; the Company resolved to wait until next year, when the

* Leclercq.

† Prendre l'attache.

habitants had been consulted. A petition, however, came from de Repentigny asking for three Recollets to be sent. M. de Lauzon, sustained by M. de la Madelaine, declined to do anything until the following year. He told a friend of the Recollets that with all their arguments they did not understand matters, adding, that "in the age in which we live we have reformed our theory of morality, and we have to make use of temporal affairs to establish the spiritual." The Recollets described themselves as sent from Caiphas to Pilate. In the days of M. d'Avangour they were looked upon as non-existent; their lands were given away, some to de Lotbiniere, some to de Repentigny, some to the Hospital nuns. It was not until 1670 that the order was re-established in Canada, seldom, however, to be cordially protected by the ecclesiastical authorities. With the laity and the civil government they always stood well.

The first years after the return of the French, witnessed the great interest shewn in New France. The slow increase of population proves that this feeling passed away, and that the colony only obtained the attention of the members of the Company. There is no fact to shew that it called forth any strong sympathy with the French people. When de Maisonneuve returned in 1653, with 105 men which he had raised in Poitou, Maine and Brittany, it was regarded as something of an event; and M. de Lauson, then Governor, hesitated if he would allow them to proceed to Montreal. From 1645 to 1660, the colony remained stationary as to progress, however the population may have individually varied. At Montreal the limited fortifications were completed as could best be done, but there was little increase to the population. Quebec and Three Rivers shewed no change. Trade was carried on with more or less enterprize. The spirit of discovery was not extended. It was the period of the Huron missions, their activity, their failure, their termination. Of the country itself, at this date, we have a faithful picture, which may be accepted as representative of its condition for the quarter of the century succeeding the death of Champlain, until the genius of Colbert

was awakened to direct its commerce, develop its fortunes and exercise the protecting influence which was to save it from ruin.

It was in 1663 that Pierre Boucher addressed to Colbert his celebrated letter describing Canada. He had arrived in Canada as a boy and his character had taken the tone of its associations. In 1662, he had been sent to France, the bearer of a petition asking for help by the inhabitants in their desperate condition. He had met and conversed with Colbert, and it was from Colbert's desire thoroughly to know what Canada, with its resources, was, that the work was written. It aided in destroying the old condition of matters, for in 1663, Canada became a portion of France beyond the seas, an integral portion of the kingdom.*

There can be no history in the great meaning of the term of a small, scattered population, established at points of a river extending over one hundred and eighty miles in length, whose main occupation was the cultivation of the soil, and the traffic in furs, and whose lives were daily threatened without the protection of the fort. The population of the whole of Canada did not exceed that of a modern thriving village or small town, and the Huron Indians, who, with judicious treatment might have been made valuable allies, were rapidly disappearing before the attempt to introduce a civilization, which they had imperfectly accepted without learning its duties and responsibilities. Self-defence is paramount in every community; and the Hurons ought never to have been encouraged to neglect the strength and effort by which their territory

* Boucher on his return from France was accompanied by Dumont, an officer in command of a hundred soldiers. Dumont wrote a diary of his journey, which is published in the *Relations of 1663*. We learn that on the south shore that there were settlements at Lauson, Point Levis; and that to the north near Quebec they extended to Cap Rouge: that along Cap de la Madeleine to the east of Three Rivers there was a league of houses; that at Three Rivers he found the tables as well covered and as well furnished as in France. He records several shocks of the earthquake felt while he was present in July, and which had continued from the 5th February. He saw traces of a fire which had destroyed eighteen acres of forest. He went as far as Montreal, the inhabitants of which he described as the most soldierly in the country.

could have been defended. The missions lasted for twenty-four years. At the close of this time the Huron territory was depopulated, while the missionaries themselves were killed in the first assaults, or cruelly tortured and burned.

There was one continuous struggle against the dominant Indian race, the Iroquois ; a power at that date without the aggressive strength which it subsequently obtained. What was required was the presence of an armed force of strength sufficient to retain the respect which the French in the first instance imposed. This feeling, when the operations of de Tracy again called it forth, remained until the close of the first government of de Frontenac in 1682. The policy to be followed had been well understood by Champlain, and represented by him to Richelieu.

In estimating the policy of Champlain and the number of armed men he asked from France, it must be remembered that he counted on the alliance of the friendly Indians, then inured to war. Champlain was not the man to have awaited the attack of the Iroquois. Had they threatened the settlements under his government, he would have taken the war into their homes, and have taught them what such war was. They then would have been the first to seek for peace. It was as easy for the French and Hurons to seek the Iroquois on the Mohawk, as for the latter to proceed to the Saint Lawrence.

We see much in Boucher's narrative which throws light on the Canada I am attempting to describe. He gives an account of the geography of the country, recording the earthquake, during which he had been present, the shocks having been repeated for seven months. We learn that several individuals had been forced to leave Canada ; the reason is not stated. Certainly not for crime, for they could have been punished. He expresses his surprise that the country should remain uninhabited, and it was to remove prejudice on this point,* and to do away with the policy threatened of sending

* Et pour oster la mauvaise opinion que le vulgaire en a, et que mal à propos on menace d'envoyer les garnements en Canadas comme par punition.

criminals to the country that his book was written. By what he tells us, it is plain that many who had visited the country and had made money there, did not remain. He gives a picture of Quebec. There was the fort where Durham Terrace now stands ; near to it the Parish Church, with the ceremonial religious service as in the best churches of France. The Jesuits had constructed their school substantially. The Ursuline Convent had been built on its present site. There were the Hospital nuns, with their small revenue. The finest houses were to be seen on the heights. Several of the store-houses and dwellings stood at the foot of the hill. Many *habitants* were established in the Island of Orleans. One-third of the whole population of the country was to be found in Quebec. Below Quebec, settlement extended to Beauport, and above to the west for about seven leagues. Three Rivers had but few settlers. Montreal is described with rich soil, requiring men to till it with horses, and on the other hand the subjugation of the Iroquois was urged as a necessity. Most of the trees in the neighbourhood of Montreal were oak.

Boucher described the wild vine, explaining that the grape had been little cultivated, as the first duty was to plant corn so as to get bread to eat, and that they could do without wine better than without bread. That wine was 10 sols a pint. Eau de vie, 30 sols : best Spanish wine the same price, French measure. Wheat, 100 sols the minot [weighing 60 lbs., 20 sols to the livre or franc], sometimes costing 6 francs. Peas *un écu* the bushel, sometimes 4 francs. The wages of men, with food, was, in winter, 20 sols ; in summer, 30 sols.

The livre Tournois was the money of account in Canada. As a coin it did not exist. Its equivalent as a term may be found in the expression Halifax Currency. The gold coins consisted of the Louis d'or, double, single and half, with the gold crown [écu] and half-crowns. The silver consisted of pieces of 60, 30, 15, 10 and 5 sols or sous, with deniers, and double deniers of copper. The livre Tournois was estimated at the value of 20 sols ; the modern franc. There was a livre Parisis which had a fourth more value than that of Tournois.

The Parisis being 25 sols against the Tournois livre of 20 sols. The livre Parisis was never in use in Canada; it was abolished in France in the reign of Louis XIV. In the reign of Louis XV. the écu of 6 livres was introduced into Canada, with minor pieces of 24, 12 and 6 sols. Owing to the scarcity of money in 1669, wheat was declared by the Council a legal tender at four livres the minot, while in 1673 bear skins could be tendered in payment at their value.

There were no horses in Canada* at this date. There was plenty of hay at Three Rivers and Montreal, but the mower was always in danger of being killed by the Iroquois. This was the main reason why horses were not in the country, but Boucher trusted that the ‘bon roi’ would assist in destroying the Iroquois, and then horses would be imported. The inhabitants produced strong robust boys and girls with plenty of intelligence, but somewhat difficult to be led to study. There was no hemp, but the soil was well fitted for its cultivation. Wine was drunk in the best houses. Beer in other places. A drink called ‘bouillon’ was in common use. The very poor took water. Some houses were built of stone, covered with pine boards. Some were built with upright posts, filled in with masonry.† Some were framed buildings.

There were three drawbacks to Canada. The Iroquois, who prevented the tillage of the soil, the mowing of hay, who made fishing and hunting almost impossible. On all sides the Indians lay in wait, never attacking but when in sufficient strength. They destroyed the settlers when alone, or in small numbers and slew the cattle. “And,” adds Boucher, “it would not be a difficult matter to get rid of them, for they consist but of 800 or 900 men capable of bearing arms. It required only prudence and sufficient force to destroy them.”

The second difficulty was that of the mosquito.†

* One horse only had reached Canada previously. It arrived 20th June, 1647, and was presented to the Governor, M. de Montmagny.—Jesuit’s Journal.

† Brick nogging.

‡ “Maringouins autrement appelés cousins.” To us in Canada no comment is needed to explain what these pests are in unsettled lands. In England, where there is happy ignorance of this poisonous gnat, no idea can be formed of the

The third drawback was the length of the winter, which proved severe to those first arriving.

Boucher was careful to set forth that no women of doubtful antecedents had been included in the population. If any such had managed to reach the country unknown they had behaved well when there. As a rule, those proposing to come to Canada, had to be vouched for by relatives or by responsible persons. As for the scamp, if by accident he reached Quebec, and by his conduct made himself objectionable, he was shipped back to France. If he proved himself a criminal, as elsewhere they knew how to hang him.

He advised those who came to Canada to be ready to put their hand to everything, raising their buildings and clearing their land. They should bring provisions to last for one or two years, above all, flour. Money was worth twenty-five per cent. more in Canada than in France. Thus a piece of 20 sols was worth 25 sols in New France. The majority of the inhabitants were those who had made a start as servants, and after serving three years had commenced to work for themselves. Although with little means generally they married, and in four or five years were at their ease. There were no women servants in Canada. Those who could afford to employ servants engaged men.

Such was the Canada of 1662, thirty years after its re-occupation by the French, and the account may be generally accepted as characteristic of the whole period.

torment they cause by night and day when not guarded against. The poison works differently in different constitutions. In some instances for a few hours the features are positively disfigured. The mosquito appears for about a month in June. If the summer be wet he periodically returns. They are guarded against by having gauze stretched over a frame placed before the open window, and by gauze curtains round the bed, impenetrable to their attack. In the large cities of Canada they are rarely seen.

CHAPTER II.

The five governors who appeared within this period, although individually they leave traces sufficient of their personal characters, and of the mode in which their duty was performed, shew little change in the policy adopted to develop the resources of the colony. They were representatives of the Company, with power over life and property, to keep society together; but they could follow no line of conduct except that prescribed to them, whatever else was dictated by experience and necessity. On one side was a purely commercial combination which objected to unnecessary expense, and at Paris and Rouen conducted the little supervision that was exercised. On the other hand, from a sense of interest, they sustained a religious organization, bent on obtaining political power, keeping dominant the principle of establishing their form of the Christian church, without toleration of any divergence of thought, and jealously exercising their authority, encouraged by the opinion of that date, and more particularly enforced by the order they represented.

The first of these governors was M. Charles Huault de Montmagny. Arriving in Canada in June, 1636, he remained eleven years in the country until 1647. He was a soldier, a Knight of Malta; he had seen service, and must have early discovered the precarious tenure by which the country was held, with the insufficient means he possessed to defend it. He soon shewed that he was one to make the best of the situation.

He landed, and was received with the usual ceremonies. On ascending the road to the fort on the day of his arrival, a cross struck his attention. It was possibly in the cemetery, over Champlain's grave, visible from the hill, where he himself subsequently constructed a vault and a small chapel to Cham-

plain's memory. It is related that M. de Montmagny went on his knees before this wooden cross, and that his example was followed by the small body of men who followed him; among them were the Jesuit Fathers Chastellain and Charles Garnier. The party were then proceeding to the church to return thanks for their safe arrival. M. de Montmagny was marked both by sense and ability, and the act itself, without explanation, must be attributed to impulse; and whatever praise it may receive from the Jesuit fathers it cannot command universal respect. The proceeding is explicable, if we believe that as he was ascending the road, Champlain's grave, denoted by the cross, at the lower level to his left, was pointed out to him, and that he acted in the belief of a sincere Roman Catholic, taught to pray for the dead. There were but a few rods to be passed over before M. de Montmagny would arrive at the church, where service would be performed, and a Te Deum chanted with all the ceremonial which the choir could command. It is true that the Jesuit Father does not name Champlain's grave, and speaks of the crucifix only as an emblem of faith. The discovery of the vault with Champlain's bones at this spot, however, may be held to explain the proceeding; for M. de Montmagny had but to wait a few minutes to join in the service of the church.

An important addition reached the colony with M. de Montmagny. Two families of distinction arrived from Normandy, M. de Repentigny, with his wife, mother and children, and M. Le Neuf de La Potherie, and his mother, brother and family. There was also a small reinforcement of troops.

M. de Montmagny lost no time in improving the upper fort, many of the works being weak and incomplete, and in rebuilding the battery constructed on the lower level to guard the advance up the river. He also traced a plan of Quebec,* marking out the streets according to some system. Consequently, as buildings were raised, order in their construction began to be observed even in this infancy of the city. As punishment for crime is unfortunately the necessary attendant

* Relations 1636, page 41.

of civilization, a pillory was erected. The structure served equally as the centre of intelligence, for the public notices and proclamations to the inhabitants were here appended. As early as 1636 it was brought into use in the case of a person punished for blasphemy and drunkenness. M. de Montmagny also visited Three Rivers and enlarged the fort.

A Council was established to publish police ordinances and to extend justice: it consisted of the governor, the head of the Jesuits and a syndic. The latter, as a theory, represented the inhabitants of Quebec, and an attempt was made to maintain law and order in the small community. That the population remained stationary for at least seven years is indisputable, however difficult to be explained.

The means of disseminating intelligence concerning the colony was found in the Jesuit Relations. The enthusiastic, the extremely devout, those susceptible of deep religious emotion were touched by the descriptions which they gave; and to this day they have retained their freshness. Written with the art which conceals art, with care and literary power, in the style of simple narrative, they leave room to the imagination to have full play, and so set forth the facts to command the reader's sympathy that he participates in the sufferings and sorrows recorded. It is the prerogative of our sanguine nature that we all believe that we can successfully in our own person meet dangers, under which many must succumb; and we seldom consider that it may be our fate to be included in the number of the victims which cannot escape. Human hope, indeed, is indestructible. Particularly this feeling is the accompaniment of youth; and le Jeune could record the number of young nuns who expressed themselves prepared to devote their lives to a missionary career in New France, and who shewed their willingness to answer his appeal to aid in reclaiming the lost souls of the heathen. It is precisely those easily accessible to this feeling, who give vent to it by letters or in conversation. Enthusiasm is contagious. One strong-minded devotee draws many of her weaker sisterhood in her train. In most cases the sincerity of these letters was proved, and they were

acted up to, when the hour for action arrived. But such expressions of feeling, however numerous, must not be accepted as the general tone of thought. They are representative of a class of minds only ; and the stationary character of the population for so many years establishes that the scheme for the settlement of Canada commanded little general sympathy, and that it was conducted with little enterprise. Young romantic natures may theorize as they will : facts and results can only be accepted as the test of success.

One remarkable person was attracted by these productions ; the niece of Cardinal Richelieu, known in history as the Duchesse d'Aiguillon. She was the daughter of Françoise du Plessis, the sister of Richelieu, who became the wife of René de Wignerod, Seigneur du Pont de Courlay. The daughter, Marie Madeline, had married the Sieur du Roure du Combalet, and had been left a widow without children at a young age. She remained constantly with her uncle, who, in 1638, presented to her the estate of Aiguillon as a duchy. She died in April 1675. In 1636 she wrote offering to establish the Sœurs Hospitalières at Quebec. She sent out six persons who were to prepare a home for the nuns who were to follow. In this communication she signs herself "du Pont," from the seigneury she had inherited from her father, to which signature she even adhered on occasions after the prouder rank of duchess had been conferred upon her. She was the foundress of the Hotel Dieu at Quebec, to which she continued her benefactions during her life.

One point the Jesuits kept in view, the education of the Huron children. In 1636, Fathers Pijart and le Mercier joined the fathers engaged in that mission, and, like those who had preceded them, they suffered great hardships in the ascent. In the same year, Daniel returned with evident marks of his labours, his shirt and priest's dress in rags, and himself worn out with fatigue. Some Huron children had left the western mission to descend with the canoes to Quebec, there to be educated as Christians. But when the hour came to return home, the parents would not leave them behind in the

schools. With great effort made to retain them, three only remained.

Annually the Huron Indians proceeded to Quebec : their numbers varied. They brought down furs and received such articles of traffic as were useful to them : kettles, fabrics, knives, axes. It was to these proceedings that the operations of the Company were limited. Any attempt at settlement was trifling. Giffard had cleared some land at Beauport, and something had been done between Quebec and Sillery. Such was the limit of the operations. The Company confined itself to its mercantile ventures, while the Jesuits devoted themselves to the conversion of the Indians. In this statement we may read the history of Canada at this date. No steps were taken to protect the Huron canoes ascending and descending the Saint Lawrence. Hence they became frequently the prey of the Iroquois. The Saint Lawrence was a hunting ground to the Mohawks, where they lingered in ambush to take what they could lay their hands on, even penetrating to the neighbourhood of the fort of Three Rivers.

It was in 1636 that the smallpox was carried among the western Hurons. The disease was communicated by some canoes ascending from Quebec, where it had been severely felt. Father Isaac Jogues was one of the first to be attacked by it on his arrival in the Huron country. He had been accompanied by Chastellain and Garnier, who likewise suffered. The pestilence was regarded in a light disadvantageous to the Jesuit Fathers, for they were looked upon as the sorcerers who had introduced it. It passed from village to village, and, as all medical precaution was unknown, many Indians died. In vain a grand game of Lacrosse was played to conjure it away. The Jesuits freely exposed their own lives to succour the sufferers and where possible, to extend religious consolation. Certainly the power of the invention of ignorance and superstition is unfathomable. In this case the native medicine men ascribed the cause of the malady to the purpose of Champlain of destroying the Huron race, so that he could

appear in the other world with a numerous escort. An Algonquin chief gave authority to the statement. It came gravely to be debated whether the French residing at the mission should not be massacred. A council was held for the subject to be considered, which was attended by de Brébœuf and the other Fathers. Much was said to increase the prejudice against the French: a reply to the invective was made by de Brébœuf. It was finally determined to await the arrival of the Hurons who had proceeded to Quebec. No effort was spared by the missionaries to remove the impression. Many meetings took place, but the safety of the fathers was still threatened. Fortunately there came a lull in the progress of the disease. The Jesuits, however, felt it prudent to change their quarters. They removed from Thonateria, which was on Matchedash Bay, to Ossosane, which was to the southwest on Nottawasaga Bay.

There is a name mentioned in Canadian history of this date for which particular respect is claimed : M. Noël Brûlart de Sillery* founder of an institution, the charitable objects of which extort our praise. There is, however, little in his career

* Noël de Sillery owed his position and his fortune to his brother Nicolas, made known to us in Sully's memoirs. The latter was one of the ministers of Henry IV. and the king himself has left us a portraiture of the character of Nicolas : patient, complaisant, wonderfully supple, skilful and industrious ; fond of wealth and honours, and ready to act to get all he could ; and one not likely to risk his person and fortune to benefit another. Nicolas had made the acquaintance of Henry IV. when on an embassy to Navarre to make a last representation to him of the necessity of submitting to Henry III. and of changing his religion. Subsequently he became one of the Council of Henry, and joined the clique which desired to exclude Sully. Nevertheless he was one of the first to express the greatest pleasure in seeing Sully there. He was constantly the supporter of an alliance with Spain ; but it was the King who declared that with a neighbour so cunning and so dishonest there was no other policy to follow but to mistrust and guard against her. It was de Sillery who, when he met the Queen after the death of Henry, in reply to her remark that "the King is dead," answered, "Your Majesty will excuse me, the kings of France do not die," and coolly asked her to dry her tears and perform her duties. How different to the deep feeling shewn by Sully. Being named to the Council of the Queen he was enabled to introduce his brother Noël into the conclave ; and when appointed chancellor in the place of Bellièvre his influence obtained for his brother the post of Ambassador at Rome. All that had previously been heard of the Chevalier de Sillery was, that his name

in France to obtain for him honourable mention. The institution which owes its origin to his bounty was placed four miles to the west of the fort on the river bank at Quebec, a spot to this day retaining the founder's name : Sillery. But there is no present trace of the institution. His first theory was to establish a convent for the education of young girls ; but, acting on the advice of Père le Jeune, he formed what in modern language would be called a Home for christianized families of Montagnais and Algonquin Indians. In 1637 he sent out money and twenty laborers to clear the land and commence the necessary buildings. The ground was selected by Père le Jeune. The governor, who had known de Sillery as a Knight of Malta, was appealed to, to give his aid and countenance to the undertaking. The buildings included a chapel, a residence for the missionaries, a fort, and houses for the families to live in ; and in a short period several Christian Indians were received there.

When Richelieu established the Society of a Hundred, de Sillery became a member ; thus his attention was directed to Canada. The world, however, offered little attraction to him. He lived as a recluse, and the money which his political associations had enabled him to gather procured him no happiness. He placed himself in relationship with Père le Jeune, and stated his desire to devote his fortune to the purposes in Canada which the church would approve. Men-

had been included among those interested in the intrigues of Henry IV.* He became a member of the secret council in 1610, as the adherent of his brother, and was one of those who joined in the pillage of the Royal Treasury, where everything was held to be a lawful prize. Necessarily he became an active partizan of the Concini in all they undertook, and was working with them to throw France in the arms of Spain ; but the *coup d'état* of 24th April, 1607, by which the Duke de Luynes came into power, destroyed his hope of further success in public life.

* "J'ai mieux aimé qu'on ignorât tout ce que j'ai eu peine à essuyer par cet endroit (les foiblesses de Henri) que de le faire connoître aux dépens de la gloire de mon maître. Peut être ai-je poussé ce scrupule trop loin car le public a été si rebattu des noms de . . . du Commandeur de Sillery . . . tous différemment intéressés dans ces aventures comme principaux acteurs ou comme participants, que je pourrois en dire beaucoup, sans rien apprendre de nouveau." Sully, Livre vingt cinquième. Vol. VII. pp. 23-24.

tion of de Sillery in Canadian history has been that of a saint, but this one act cannot constitute his epitaph. He died in 1641. A solemn mass was chanted for the peace of his soul in the chapel which his bounty had been the means of erecting.

In 1638, we have mention of an earthquake which affected the colony. It is recorded with few particulars. The shocks were more frequent in New England, and it may be inferred that Canada was to the outer limit of the shock. Thevêt relates that Cartier was informed by the Indians of the tradition of such events. The latter does not himself speak of them.

Although Quebec, at this period, contained scarcely two hundred souls, and the country was in need of great material assistance, primarily, that soldiers should be sent to defend it, the aid offered in France was turned entirely towards the foundation of monastic institutions, even in excess of the requirements of a city of some thousands of inhabitants.

The Jesuits, whose published letters in Paris were calling forth support and assistance, and who were appealed to to direct this beneficence, could see the one means of safety in the establishment of nunneries and monasteries, the use of which, at that date, cannot now be made apparent. The Duchess d'Aiguillon* had founded the Hotel Dieu in 1639, and three nuns had arrived from the Convent of St. Augustine, at Dieppe. The Marquis de Gamache had established the Jesuit College. De Sillery, the Home for the Indians. Now another foundress was to appear.

Madame de la Peltrie is one of the best recollected names in Canadian ecclesiastical history among those known by their benefactions. Much romance has been thrown over a somewhat commonplace character. Her portrait remains. A more coquettish, heartless form of beauty, is seldom to be found, either under the adornment of fashion or the hood and veil of the devotee. She was born in 1605 : at this date she

* In le Jeune's Relation of 1636 she is mentioned as Madame de Combalet. She did not obtain the higher rauk until two years later.

was 35 years of age. The family was of the Norman *noblesse*. There were but two children, herself and her sister, she being the younger, Marie Madeleine de Chauvigny. It is said that at an early age she expressed her desire to enter the cloister ; but, as frequently happens in Roman Catholic families, the feeling had been overruled and she had been married at seventeen, so far as can be judged, a *mariage de convenance*. At twenty-two she was a widow, without children. The account we possess of her, is that published in the history of the Ursuline Convent she founded, joined to the mention of her name in the Relations. Like many of her contemporaries, she had been impressed with the writings of Père le Jeune, which inculcated the duty of making provision for converting the Indian children. She had felt that she was one peculiarly fitted to proceed to the colony and to take a prominent place in the work. Her father desired that she should again marry and cheer his last years. Her theory of duty was to deceive and abandon him.

At Caen lived a M. de Bernières Louvigny. He is mentioned generally by the first name only. He was the Treasurer of Caen, and was a year older than Madame de la Peltrie; with little culture, strong religious feelings, marked by the mysticism of that time. He had established at Rouen a species of religious community, 'the Hermitage,' composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, in order to live a more strict life. In this community at one period of his career, Bishop de Laval was an inmate, but at this date he was scarcely fifteen years of age.

The narrative as it is given is not without difficulty. So far as can be made out, Madame de la Peltrie had determined to devote the fortune she was to inherit, and her services, to the cause in Canada. On one hand her father desired that she should marry, or renounce her right to the succession ; she, on her side, was determined to do neither, but to found a convent at Quebec. M. de Bernières had been spoken of as a fit husband for her, and in her perplexity she applied to him. The part she desired him to play was to appear to be

an applicant for her hand, with the understanding that they were never to marry. This programme was carried out, and the father was delighted with the daughter's obedience. The offer was made and accepted. M. de Chauvigny became impatient. It was then agreed that they should act in the eyes of the world as if they were married, but that no ceremony should take place. As M. de Chauvigny died during these proceedings the deception could be maintained.

Madame de la Peltrie making herself remarkable by a lavish expenditure to her Church, and to ecclesiastics, her family intervened. Legal proceedings were instituted by her sister and brother-in-law, with the view that she should be interdicted. In Caen the case was decided against her ; an appeal to the Parliament at Rouen resulted in her favour. She could now act as she saw fit.

M. de Bernières accompanied her everywhere, passing as her husband. It was known that in the fashion of that day both had made vows of chastity ; so with the more worldly the assumed marriage gave scope to some ill-natured wit. Further to conceal her purpose she went again into society : her relatives still mistrusted her. Accordingly, she left Alençon secretly, and lived in retirement in Paris. She had now definitely determined to carry out her purpose of founding a convent in Canada, and with this object in view, in the company of M. de Bernières, she visited the Convent at Tours. The fame of her intention had preceded her. She was received at the entrance by the Superior and the nuns, formed into two lines. Madame de la Peltrie passed majestically through them to the altar, amid the tolling of bells, while the *Veni Creator* was chanted. A *Te Deum*, given with the solemnity of a full choir followed, and she was received with all the impressiveness which a religious ceremony can create.

The object of her visit was known ; to select nuns to accompany her to Canada. Doubtless they had been already chosen. The future Superior was found in Marie Guyart, known to us as Mère de l'Incarnation. She was accompanied

by a young girl of a distinguished Angevin family ; Mademoiselle de Savonnière de la Troche. She had been known at Tours as Marie de Saint Bernard. She now took the name of Marie de Saint Joseph.

Madame de la Peltrie would not have been satisfied if matters had gone on with regularity. She called herself in Paris Madame de la Croix, and in the street she changed places with her female servant, making the latter appear the mistress. Still all was not as she wished. A young girl who had lived with her from childhood had agreed to accompany her ; when the hour came this young person withdrew from her engagement, and in spite of all entreaty returned to Alençon. Moreover the Archbishop of Paris declined to allow any of the Ursulines of that city to accompany her. The Queen showed more sympathy. Madame de la Peltrie with the two nuns were received with all graciousness by Anne of Austria, then in her mature beauty.

The end of the story is told by Mère de l'Incarnation “Our ordinary and constant conversation was of *our Canada*, of our preparations for the voyage, and what we would do among the Indians of the country. He [M. de Bernières] regarded Mère de Saint Joseph, who was but twenty-two, as a victim to be pitied. But he was charmed with her courage and her zeal. For me he had no compassion. He was wishing I might be strangled for Jesus Christ's sake, and he desired as much for Madame de la Peltrie. Arrived at Dieppe M. de Bernières would have embarked with us for the voyage, if Madame de la Peltrie had not constituted him her attorney to regulate her affairs in France, for her relatives certainly believed that they were married ; without this belief they would have stopped us, or at least delayed us for that year. This true servant of God was not able to leave us. Accompanied by Father C. Lalemant he conducted us on board ship, and the two rendered us a thousand services. At length we had to part and to take leave of our guardian angel for ever ; but although far from us, his goodness, with paternal affection, led him to assume charge of our affairs. In all our

conversations, from our first interview to our separation, we found in him a man actuated by the Spirit of God, and an enemy of the world. He was never untrue to that modesty which was in accord with his grace, although he was extremely agreeable in his conversation."

Madame de la Peltre owes her claim to distinction in the greater part to her wealth, and the beneficence with which she devoted it to purposes of religious education. She leaves a reputation not to be held up as an example to daughters, creating a sentiment by no means favourable to any conception of the elevation and dignity of her character. The Superior she chose for the Convent in her visit of the 22nd February at Tours, stands forward remarkable for her strength of nature, her single-mindedness of purpose, her executive ability, and the skill with which she met adverse circumstances: moreover, by the personal influence which she attained throughout her life.

Marie Guyart was the daughter of Florent Guyart, a silk manufacturer of Tours. She was born 18th October, 1599. She was married at seventeen, her husband, M. Martin, being also a silk manufacturer. Before she was nineteen she was left a widow with one child. She is spoken of throughout her life as being in continual poverty; so her husband could not have been in good circumstances, and she must have been left without any provision. Her son was even a dependent for some years on the bounty of his aunt.

She returned to her father's house, and, after a year's interval, accepted the offer of her sister to live with her and her husband, and help in carrying on the business, represented to have been considerable. She is named as having practised every species of austerity, at the same time making herself remarkable by the able manner in which she carried out the duties entrusted to her. She is expressly named as showing great ability and aptitude for business. That she should have lived in the kitchen, and have performed all sorts of menial work, as is represented, could not have been a matter of necessity. It can only be affiliated to a mystical and ex-

travagant theory of religious submission to unnecessary discomfort and self-imposed privation. She was constantly enlightened by dreams. She was affected by visions, and she had particular revelations to unfold the most solemn mysteries of religion. She carried her self-humiliation to the fullest extent.

When in her father's house she established an oratory, where uncontrolled she could give way to her excited religious feelings. When with her sister she must have caused no little embarrassment, even with the full recognition of her ability and the assistance which she gave in the business. On several occasions she related a dream which she had in 1633,* in which an unknown lady led her to a distant country. The Virgin and the Infant Jesus welcomed her. Subsequently, kneeling before the altar of the sacrament, a voice informed her that it was in Canada her mission was cast; and at this time Marie Guyart had not heard one word of Canada except when it was mentioned as a word of threat to unruly children. To her force of character, the Mère de l'Incarnation united a Junonian look and carriage, which in her young days made men turn in the streets to look at her. Her walk was measured and stately. The lover of feminine delicacy of feature might have traced in her marked expression of countenance, something of sternness more than befits our general theory of the beauty of women. But her manners were polished and gentle, and she exercised universally an irresistible fascination. During her whole life in Canada she carried on an extensive correspondence. She wrote to queens, princes and princesses, priests and bishops; to men of note and men of less note, with a degree of taste and tact and delicacy to charm every correspondent. "This," she wrote, "is but the second letter since the arrival of the ships. They start in fifteen days, and I have two hundred letters to write." In another place she says "my hand is so tired that I can hardly hold the pen. I must answer six score letters,

* This dream in full detail was gravely written out on three occasions. It is given in the account of her death in the Relation of 1672, p.p. 62, 63.

besides the business papers for the community to be sent to France. But so we must pass on through this life while waiting on that of eternity, which does not pass away."

Her letters prove her to have been gifted with a ready, delicate wit, and apart from her mysticism she possessed a well-balanced, penetrating intellect at once to seize the true situation. In modern days she would have achieved wonderful success in literature, and would have possibly produced many remarkable efforts of her power not to pass away. Her style is distinguished by grace and simplicity. As we read her letters we cannot but feel in how marked a manner the two opposite sides of her character present themselves. If you can banish the extravagant religious exuberance of thought with which sober minded Catholics and Protestants equally can have little sympathy, she appears one of the most perfect specimens of womanhood whose lives have been recorded.

To those who take an exalted idea of religious duty, what is here said may fall cold and dull. But no other view can be formed by the dispassionate historian of her life. The Mère de l'Incarnation always spoke of her marriage as her cross. I cannot see why. Perhaps because she thought its memory interfered with her religious ecstasies. Martin, her husband, in no way appears in an unfavourable light. Certainly, by modern theories, the abandonment of a son of twelve, in order to enter a convent, cannot be held as an example commendable to young mothers. In the Convent at Tours her mental power was at once felt ; and when the negotiation conducted by the Jesuits took place, for the selection of some nuns to proceed to Canada, came to assume form, it was she, naturally, who would be selected. The Canadian dream was known, and the identification of Madame de la Peltrie as the beautiful lady who had figured in it, under the circumstances with which she was welcomed, could only be looked for.

The foundation of the Ursuline Convent is dated from the 1st August, 1639, the day of the arrival of the *réligieuses*. Mère de l'Incarnation was connected with it for thirty-two

years : of this period, she was eighteen years Superior, two years Assistant Superior, twelve *dépositaire*,* and at the same time mistress of novices. She died 30th April, 1672, aged 27 years and six months, five months after Madame de la Peltrie.

The embarkation took place from Dieppe, when a third Ursuline nun was obtained, the Mère Cecile. Father Barthelmy Vimont accompanied them.† Leaving the 4th May, they arrived at Quebec 1st August. They were received with all ceremony, and conducted to the church. Sillery was visited. It was the one foundation where there was some activity. The establishment for the Ursulines had not been commenced ; the building under construction for Madame d'Aiguillon was little more than traced out. The Ursulines temporarily established themselves in a small tenement near the quay ; a building belonging to the Company near the fort had been assigned to the Hospital nuns. The Ursulines commenced their labours in this small building. Some of the young French children attended, with six young Huron girls. The Hospital nuns were called upon to perform the severe duty of ministering to sufferers from an attack of small-pox. It is described as not affecting those who had left France, but dangerous to persons born in the colony, and to the Indian.

Shortly afterwards, at the suggestion of Madame d'Aiguillon, they removed to Sillery, their patroness, at the same time, furnishing the money to admit of the change. Until their building was in a condition to receive them, they were accommodated by M. de Puiseaux with a residence half way from Quebec. Early in 1641 they took possession of their own house to suffer from cold and its accompanying misery, owing to its incomplete condition.

It was in 1640 that the small colony was visited by the misfortune of the destruction of its church. On the 14th June a fire broke out in the Jesuit quarters which adjoined it.

* Treasurer.

† He is known as the author of the Jesuit Relations, 1640-1645.

The buildings with their contents were destroyed. Included in the loss were the early Colonial Registers. The Jesuits suffered seriously, losing the clothing and supplies, with articles of trade arranged to be sent up to the twenty-seven of their body in the Huron missions.

In this year came the announcement of the birth of Louis XIV., which the governor celebrated with a procession, fireworks and a banquet. The first of the many ceremonial observances of this character which for two centuries and a half have never failed to obtain in Canada, loyal and hearty recognition whenever the appeal has been made.

CHAPTER III.

While the thoughts of those pre-eminent in power were mainly devoted to the foundation of religious establishments in a country where residence was looked upon as temporary and subsidiary to other views, and of which the central point, Quebec, scarcely contained a few score of souls, the Iroquois roamed unchecked in all their ferocity throughout the valley of the Saint Lawrence. The dread of French courage and enterprize was passing away. The white man had lost his old prestige. The struggling settlement of Three Rivers was confined to the protection of its fort. The place increased, but in a limited degree, in wealth and numbers. It was a positive danger to till the ground a few arpents from the fort or to travel a league with a fowling-piece to kill game for the table. One would scarcely have looked for the presence of the Indians in February ; but in that month of 1641, two of the inhabitants, François Marguerie* and Thomas Godefroy fell into an Iroquois ambush. The former appears as one of the most chivalrous characters of these early days : in a critical period recommending a course of action in order to save the community, at the risk of being subjected to a slow death amid continuous torture. He was an interpreter, having gained a knowledge of the Huron language, and is mentioned by de Brébœuf, when but twenty-two, as possessed of strength and endurance remarkable even in the savage community in which he lived. The two men, surrounded by numbers, had no course open to them but to surrender and had been carried away prisoners.

In June, the river in front of Three Rivers was alive with

* Marguerie, in company with another interpreter, Amiot, was drowned in front of Three Rivers, June, 1648. They were caught in a violent tempest and their canoe, which was somewhat old, separated in the middle.

Iroquois canoes, and one of the number bearing a white flag, approached the fort. There was but one man in the canoe, Marguerie. He informed the Governor, M. de Champfleur, that the Indian expedition contained three hundred and fifty Iroquois ; that they desired peace with the French, but at the same time, to carry on war with the Algonquins and Montagnais ; moreover, they asked that thirty-six guns should be delivered to them. Marguerie was *en parole*, bound to return, and the life of Godefroy depended on his presence, if war were persevered in. He himself ran the chance of having his fingers cut off one by one with oyster shells, to be scalded, to receive red hot ashes on the scalped skull, and to be burned by a slow fire. He cast aside all personal considerations and recommended a refusal of the demand.

Time had to be gained. The Indians were accordingly informed that it was the governor alone who could grant any such conditions, and a canoe was sent to Quebec to report the situation. The Indians consented to wait until the return of the messenger, and raised a barricade of trees and fortified themselves as was their wont. In the interval communication was held with the Indians through Father Ragueneau and the interpreter Nicolet, both speaking Huron, which the Iroquois understood ; the latter knowing perfectly the language. So the conditions of peace could be discussed.

M. de Montmagny left Quebec in all possible haste, being accompanied by the Jesuit Father Vimont. Ascending in four boats of some size, he brought with him what troops were at his disposal. Even as he was arriving the Indians before his face seized an Algonquin canoe, killed a woman and carried off a man as prisoner. The captivity of the two white men exercised restraint upon the governor. Negotiations were entered into, and finally the Indians agreed to give over the prisoners, presents being accepted. The Indians adhered to their purpose to obtain firearms. It was understood that M. de Montmagny was to visit the Iroquois. Had it been possible they would have seized him and held him as an hostage until the request would have been granted. The

French, however, declined to enter into any negotiations which would not include their Indian allies, so no visit was made.

An armed sloop reached Three Rivers at this juncture. The Indians saw that they had nothing to hope for, as their force was outnumbered ; so waving some Algonquin scalps in token of defiance, they prepared to return. The barricade was at once attacked by the cannon of the sloop. As the night came on, leaving their fires burning, with men firing from time to time on the vessel, the Indians retreated, with little loss, to a second fort constructed by them at a short distance, supposed to have been at the small River Godefroy.

It was in this year Montreal was first settled. It has been stated that Champlain had seen and appreciated the extraordinary geographical advantages which Montreal possesses, and that he had commenced a clearance on what is now known as Custom House Square, but which in former days bore the name of Point à Callières. Champlain mentions in his voyage of 1613, that he returned to France with M. de Maisonneuve, of Saint Malo. This remark has led to the opinion that it was not the same person as the leader of the expedition in 1641, for Paul Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve, is spoken of as of Champagne. It is evident to my mind that Champlain dated the de Maisonneuve whom he met from the place whence he sailed. It is the custom in modern times to speak of individuals as of the place where they are living, not where they were born. The vessel in which de Maisonneuve sailed was from Saint Malo, and there Champlain landed on his return. Of the individual he knew no more than that he was an agreeable, travelled man, and so selected his offer for a passage homewards, from the many he must have received.

M. de Maisonneuve * finally left Montreal in 1665. Ad-

* Il mourut à Paris dans son domicile ordinaire, situé sur la paroisse de Saint Etienne du-Mont, entre les portes Saint Marcel et Saint Victor le 9 du mois septembre, 1676. [Faillon III., 116.] From an extract from the etat civil de Paris. paroisse St. Etienne-du-Mont.

mitting that he was twenty when Champlain met him in 1613, he would have been at this date seventy-two. De Frontenac was seventy when he joined in the war dance in Montreal with the Indians he was organizing in the defence of the country.

We are told that de Maisonneuve, when thirteen years old, served in Holland. This must have been previous to 1609, for on the 9th of April of that year a twelve years' truce was made between Spain and the United Provinces. There was no war at that date between what we now call Holland and France. Towards the close of the sixteenth century the great antagonist of the rest of Europe was Spain, which aspired to universal dominion. It was only in 1588 that the "Invincible Armada" had been defeated in the English Channel, and it was an event which must have led the whole heart of liberal France to vibrate with sympathy. In the early life of de Maisonneuve there was a strong party in France opposed to relationship with Spain, and the struggles of the United Provinces commanded great respect with the anti-Spanish party: moreover, the Low Countries formed a school where war could be learned. De Frontenac served in Holland. As there was no war between France and that country de Maisonneuve must have fought on the side seeking to free the country from Spanish influence. The truce must have left him idle, and the inference is, that he made this voyage to Canada, and when there, personally to learn from Champlain the advantages derivable from the site which Champlain himself had selected, and on which he only wanted means to construct a fort. Moreover, it was a settlement which the Jesuits in Canada contemplated as desirable. As early as 1636 Père le Jeune mentions the Grand Sault St. Louis as one of the sites for the cities of the future. It was at this date, 1640, the name Montreal was first applied to the locality.

The leading person in the new scheme* was M. de la

* The early years of Montreal are recorded by Dollier de Casson. This MS. was first discovered by Mr. Louis Joseph Papineau. During the session of 1845, when Lord Metcalfe was Governor, a sum was included in the estimates to

Dauversière, the Receiver of taxes at la Flèche in the valley of the Loire. He managed to interest M. de Fescamp, a man of some means, in the enterprize, and the two proceeded to Paris, where they saw M. Olier, then engaged in the establishment of the Seminary of Saint Sulpice. The settlement was to be dedicated to the Virgin, and was to be conducted under the auspices of a Company entirely devoted to Roman Catholic interests. The island of Montreal had been conceded to M. de Lauzon, afterwards one of the early Governors, at that time, one of the chief personages in the Society of One Hundred. The first attempt to obtain the grant did not meet with immediate success ; it was not until Father Charles Lalemant intervened that its transfer was obtained. The arrangements were made in the ancient city of Vienne, on the Rhone. M. de Lauson gave over his rights to the Company of Montreal, which included many distinguished names ; the first which appears is that of Jean Jacques Olier, *prêtre curé de St. Sulpice.*

Father Charles Lalemant had proceeded to Canada in 1625, and had been brought into contact with Champlain, whose opinions he must have known ; his father had been one

admit of this document being copied in Paris, and Mr. Papineau was requested to undertake the supervision of the work. Leave was obtained through Mr. Margry, for this copy to be made and in the first instance it was published by the Historical Society of Quebec. Subsequently, with many valuable notes and annotations, it was published in Montreal under the able editorship of M. l'Abbé Verréault. It is unsigned, but the identity is established by the writer speaking of himself as having made an ascent of the Saint Lawrence with M. de Gallinée, "Il n'y a rien de considérable à mettre dans cette histoire pour le regard de cette année [1669-70] sinon le voyage que M. de Gallinée et moi nous avons fait, vous le pouvez ici faire insérer si bon vous semble je l'ai écrit tout du long de mon style, &c." p. 198.

François Dollier de Casson, a Sulpician Priest of Paris, was the third Superior of the order in Montreal. It is stated that in his youth he had served in the cavalry under Turenne. His personal appearance was striking, and he was remarkable for his strength and powers of endurance. He was one of those many ecclesiastics, who in the hour of trial, that 'reproof of chance' shew that their courage and strength is not purely of a passive character. He appears but in a subordinate position and at brief intervals in the history of those days. It is always as a gallant and honourable gentleman in whom the soldier is never entirely dead. His history of Montreal extends to 1672.

of the heads of the police in Paris and he had seen something of good society. He was now the Superior of the Jesuits at Paris. Some wonder has been expressed at the amount of knowledge shewn by those who took up the scheme, as if it were by revelation. The surprise is rather that they so ill-weighed the facts they possessed, and with insufficient means to meet the emergency, that they commenced the establishment of a project so fraught with danger to those engaged in it.

M. de Maisonneuve, the executive head, was a man of good birth, and of high personal qualifications ; in all respects fitted for the duty which he had accepted. If he had had any hereditary leanings to heresy, or his campaigning had at all encouraged liberality of thought and creed, he saw the necessity of bowing to the tone of opinion in which he lived, and there is no evidence that he retained any liberal tendencies.

The Jesuits were now dominant. Even the intellect of Bossuet had to succumb to their influence, which was to culminate in the persecution of the Protestants, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the expatriation from France of the most peaceable, loyal, and most industrious citizens the world has ever known. That the order has included many noble examples of devotion to their religious duties and to the labours accepted by them, has little bearing on the policy constantly politically adopted by them, to be all powerful, even to the necessity of setting aside what many of their own order had advocated.

The practical views of Canadian life traceable in the early Relations, particularly those of Père le Jeune, are marked by sense, correct observation and a true view of the requirements and capabilities of Canada. The Jesuit policy is an all powerful lesson to humanity. In Canada it ended in the ruin of the people whose civilization they undertook to develop, and in their own failure to gain the political power and influence they deemed essential to their *status*. It is the constancy of purpose and devotion of the early Jesuits which

have thrown such lustre on their order, and have led writers to set out of view their political self-assertion at this period, as it should be regarded from the standing point of the sober consideration of civil liberty. Men who cheerfully went forth into the wilderness to undergo discomfort and privation; to be subjected to associations particularly repellent to men of gentle and refined minds; finally, to be tortured, to be burned, unflinchingly to meet the death which they must have ever felt would almost inevitably be their fate. Such as these, throw into the background of forgetfulness the darker side of the history of which they furnish the bright page.

M. l'Abbé Belmont tells us that de la Dauversière met de Maisonneuve at an inn, and that the conversation turned upon the proposed expedition. By these means de Maisonneuve learnt that it was to take place. Knowing Charles Lalemant, he applied to be brought in relationship with the leading personages; the result was his selection as chief of the expedition. The fame of the undertaking attracted much attention.

Among those who listened to the narratives of Canada with all the romance of young years, and with the exalted sentiment of religious duty which was dwelt upon from so many pulpits, was Madlle. Jeanne Mance, the daughter of the Attorney-general of a district in Champagne. The renown obtained by Madame de la Peltrie had excited many a youthful imagination. The prestige and honours conferred on her, had equally their share in appealing to the more personal sentiments of ambition and vanity which so many of us conceal even from ourselves. Carried away by these feelings, the young girl felt that it was her vocation to join this expedition, to devote her strength, her life, to the advancement of its cause. She came to Paris and so expressed herself to Père Lalemant. By his influence her wishes received attention. She was presented to the Queen Mother; no form of encouragement was neglected, and every inducement was held for her to persevere in her purpose.

Among those who became interested in the expedition, was Madame de Bullion, the widow of a Superintendent of Finance.

possessing a large fortune. At her special request Madlle. Mance called upon her. She was impressed with the young girl, by her manners, which were those of a lady, her distinguished bearing, her enthusiasm, and likewise by the good sense which marked her character. Finally Madame de Bullion stated that she would assist Madlle. Mance to leave France, and, what is more important, promised to give money for the establishment of an hospital; and it was by these means Madame de Bullion became the founder of the Hotel Dieu in Montreal.*

The expedition under de Maisonneuve sailed from La Rochelle in 1641: it consisted of two vessels, on one of which he was accompanied by a secular priest for the Ursuline Convent and twenty-five men. Madlle. Mance was on the second vessel, which also carried a woman, with twelve men and Père de la Place. A third vessel was sent by the Company from Dieppe; she contained ten men, and was the first to reach Canada. Thus the settlement of Montreal commenced with fifty-seven men. The three ships arrived safely at Quebec in August, after a stormy passage. De Maisonneuve lost during the passage three men and the surgeon. The latter was fortunately replaced by the surgeon of the King's ship 'L'Esperance,' which was at Tadousac when de Maisonneuve arrived, who gallantly volunteered to join the expedition.† At Quebec de Maisonneuve was met by Madlle. Mance, who had landed some days previously, for the vessels had been separated by the stormy weather. She had not the best news to give, for her presence had obtained but an indifferent welcome.

* The total amount Madame de Bullion gave to Ville Marie was 60,000 écus; possibly worth in modern money nearly a quarter of a million of dollars. Much of this sum was left in the hands of M. de la Dauversière, and at his death seized by the King to make good what was due the State: M. de la Dauversière having been a Receiver of public monies, was a defaulter. This money had been in no way set apart, but was mixed up with that of his estate.

† "Ce chirurgien sachant la chose se présenta gaiement et fit dessendre son coffre dans la chaloupe préparée pour M. de Maisonneuve, avec lequel tout soudain il alla à Kebecq, où ils arrivèrent le vingtîème d'août." Dollier de Casson, p. 31, Montreal Edition.

M. de Montmagny, who had now been five years in the country, saw all the dangers of the scheme. With our knowledge of the weakness of the force in Canada, the Iroquois having possession of the river, with Three Rivers scarcely able to defend its own position, the establishment of a settlement at Montreal, 180 miles in advance of all aid, in winter entirely excluded from it, with only sixty souls for its protection, must have appeared an enterprize in which little forethought and prudence had been shewn. De Montmagny must have fully felt its desperate character ; and he must have regarded it in every way as premature and ill-considered. Accordingly, he endeavoured to dissuade de Maisonneuve from proceeding so great a distance from Quebec. Some writers have ascribed this course to jealousy and to a feeling of dislike that any rival settlement should be commenced. No judgment can be more unjust. With scarcely two hundred and fifty souls of his race in the whole country, de Montmagny must have seen that it would be better to attach the new forces to what strength the French possessed. He, therefore, recommended that de Maisonneuve should establish himself in the neighbourhood of Quebec, and pointed out the Island of Orleans as a fit spot for his enterprize. De Maisonneuve replied that he had not been sent to deliberate but to take possession of the post, and that if every tree on the island was an Iroquois, he must go to Montreal.*

There was no answer to be made, so de Montmagny accompanied de Maisonneuve to Montreal, and on 14th October, 1641, the ceremony of taking possession of the site was performed. The party, however, returned to Quebec, where

* The answer may partake of the spirit of chivalry ; but it is not by impulsive proceedings of this character without regard to expediency, that states are founded. We may recall the remark of General Bosquet after the cavalry charge of the Light Brigade on the 25th October. ‘C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre.’ And so the result proved. For nearly a quarter of a century the inhabitants could not leave the pickets of the fort of Montreal, without risk of an attack under unfavourable conditions. There was a continual sacrifice of gallant men. No progress was made in the settlement itself ; and but for the change in 1663, which placed Canada under Royal authority, it is not improbable that Montreal would have been abandoned.

wintered ; and, in spring, they again started, permanently to establish themselves, taking from Quebec two important additions, M. de Puiseaux and Madame de la Peltrie. De Puiseaux was a man of some wealth established at Sillery. He had made a fortune in the West Indies, and had joined Champlain some years previously. De Maisonneuve had occupied his house during the winter. De Puiseaux gave some money and assistance to the expedition ; but he subsequently reclaimed them, and they were given back. Madame de la Peltrie considered that there was another opportunity for distinction, and she turned away from her foundation in Quebec; then struggling in its infancy and requiring her whole attention, to join the expedition to Montreal, possibly in the hope of acting in the new community an equally prominent part, as that which in Quebec had made her name celebrated.

De Montmagny accompanied the expedition, which safely reached its destination. Tents were pitched, camp fires lighted, for the weather was still cold, an altar was extemporized and mass performed by Father Vimont. The enclosure was immediately commenced, and, in a few days, in its first design, completed. Subsequently, Madame de Bullion's endowment took the form of a stone building outside the pickets, which, as the Hotel Dieu, retained its identity to within the last twenty years. This Hospital has since given way to the commercial requirements of the city, and the Institution has been transferred to the northwestern part of Montreal. At the time, it was constructed of sufficient strength to resist Indian attack. In a quarter of a century the fort known as St. Mary, was established at the foot of the current, and there was a fortified outpost at Point St. Charles, near the spot where the Victoria Bridge spans the St. Lawrence.

No opposition was given to the first operation of completing the picket enclosure, which was mounted with cannon. For several months the new settlement escaped attention, and it was only in 1643 it became known to the Iroquois. An Algonquin, pursued by them, took refuge within its precincts,

and the pursuers became acquainted with the new foundation. The Indians were not long before they acted upon their knowledge. A party of six unarmed men sawing wood, were attacked, three killed, and three carried off into captivity.

It is stated that the Iroquois were informed by some Hurons surprised by them at Lachine of the character of the fort and of the habits of the garrison. The chronicler of that date, with no concealed satisfaction, adds that the treachery of the Hurons obtained for them no mercy. For they were attacked, slain, and excepting those who escaped, carried off as prisoners ; the skins brought down from the West were seized and taken to the Mohawk. There was so much spoil that it could not all be loaded in the Iroquois canoes. It was the first of the series of attacks of which the early history of Montreal presents so continuous a narrative.

Whatever the cause, Madame de la Peltrie returned to Quebec after two years absence. Her presence had had no influence on the fortunes of Montreal. It was Madlle. Mance who possessed full control over the funds given by Madame de Bullion. The one duty became the defence of this advanced post, and there was little of the bright side of life to be looked for, by those who dwelt there.

In 1643 M. d'Ailleboust, accompanied by his wife and sister, arrived ; as he possessed some knowledge of construction his services were enlisted to extend and improve the fortifications. De Maisonneuve remained still in command ; all expeditions were discouraged as every man was of account. On one occasion his judgment yielded to the charge whispered against him of want of enterprise and cowardice. He gathered together his force, which did not exceed thirty men, and made a *soutie*. The Iroquois he proceeded to attack were found to consist of 200 men. A retreat became necessary. De Maisonneuve, abandoned by his men, was the last to enter the fort and only narrowly escaped death. Several were killed and wounded. For purposes of aggression the settlers, working men and labourers were powerless ; nevertheless they were constantly called upon to resist attack.

These events prove the absence of all wise policy in the attempt to establish Montreal with but few men, and an endowment for an hospital. The Iroquois unchecked, roamed up and down the Saint Lawrence as they saw fit, lying in ambush, or actively offensive when they could so act with security, ever ready to attack solitary individuals or small parties not on their guard. Cultivation of the land became impossible. The policy of the Iroquois was evident; it was to prevent all settlement in the territory adjoining their homes ; to make it desolate, so that neither the white men, nor rival tribes should live in their neighbourhood to be a threat to them. It is in all respects unjust to describe their operations on the Saint Lawrence, as an act of vengeance dictated by the memory of the proceedings of Champlain. The motive was one of personal security. They desired the extermination of the French, whose powerless condition their sagacity had led them to discover, in order to free the land of their presence and to obtain the possession of plunder and prisoners by intercepting the Huron canoes. They descended the Richelieu, hitherto seldom visited by an enemy, and concealed themselves amid the islands at the western end of Lake Saint Peter, from whence from time to time they made their attacks.

In order to exercise some control over these movements M. de Montmagny caused a fort to be built at the junction of the Richelieu with the Saint Lawrence. It was commenced in August, 1642. The site is known to us by the name of Sorel, so called from M. de Saurel who reconstructed the fort in 1665. At that date it was called Fort Richelieu, and the same name was given to the river which it has retained.

Some idea of the audacity of the Iroquois may be formed, when it is stated that the men who were engaged in building the fort, were attacked within seven days of its commencement. It was only by a determined effort, that the overwhelming force of the Mohawks was driven off. It was in one of these hostile surprises that Père Jogues was seized. It was the first occasion of his sufferings. He was returning to the Huron country with Couture, an interpreter, and

Goupil, a young surgeon. The party numbered forty men, when they were attacked by about eighty Iroquois, who fired upon them. The Hurons made no resistance ; they paddled for the shore and on landing, fled. Several captives were seized, among them the three Frenchmen. On arriving at the Mohawk village there were the usual tortures, nails torn away, fingers cut off, the captives forced to run the gauntlet, with all the known systematic Indian cruelty. Couture was adopted into a family, to be sent back in the peace of the next few months. On his return he continued his work as interpreter, married, established himself at Point Levis, and lived to be ninety-four.

Van Corlaer at that date was Governor of Albany : hearing of the French prisoners he endeavoured to obtain their release. Jogues lived a year in captivity, daily expecting death. He attended some Indians to Albany, where, by the help of the Dutch, he managed to secrete himself in a vessel, and after several hair-breadth escapes reached New York. The Protestant minister, Megapolensis, stands forth as a pleasant impersonation in his adventures. From New York Jogues was sent in a Dutch vessel to Falmouth, and in a coal boat reached Brittany. With scarcely clothes to cover him he made his way to the Jesuit establishment at Rennes. His appearance and story created a sensation. He was summoned to Paris, to be received by the Queen, and on all sides obtained the most respectful consideration. In the spring of 1644 he returned to Canada, having received a dispensation from the Pope to say mass, rendered necessary by the mutilations which he had suffered. Shortly afterwards, Père Bressani was made a prisoner, equally to be tormented. He was given to a family to replace a grandfather ; but he was of little use in an Indian wigwam, so the Dutch managed to ransom him at the cost of three hundred livres, furnished him with clothing, and fed him till he was strong enough to regain France.

These sufferings had little influence on Bressani, for like Jogues he immediately returned to Canada.

CHAPTER IV.

The Iroquois were not content with threatening Montreal, with keeping Three Rivers in continual dread, and in making all connection between them a matter of positive danger. They carried their operations to Quebec and its neighbourhood; so exposed were the Hospital nuns at Sillery, that they returned to Quebec for safety. The Ursulines found protection in their own building, which was sufficiently solid to withstand attack. But there was a feeling of insecurity even at Quebec, so when an opportunity to obtain peace presented itself, it was at once taken advantage of; although experience had established, how uncertain and short-lived such periods of peace would prove to be.

Some Iroquois had been seized by the Indians domiciled at Three Rivers. M. de Montmagny, who found in one of them a chief of importance, sent him back to the Mohawk in return for the release of Marguerie and Godfroye; at the same time the Governor made him the bearer of an offer of peace, and expressed his willingness to release the other prisoners. Owing to these overtures, Couture obtained his freedom and started for the Saint Lawrence, bearing the announcement that ambassadors would shortly be sent. They appeared, and expressed their willingness to conclude peace with the French, but to exclude the Algonquins. It was not, however, possible for the French to abandon their allies: nevertheless, after some negotiation, peace was concluded.

It was in 1645, that a change was made in the organization of the Company, by which every *habitant* obtained the right of admission to the new organization. It had been negotiated by M. de Repentigny. The old Company retained its Seigneurial rights, selected the Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, and named the officers of the Courts of Justice. The

fur trade was ceded in community to the inhabitants, excluding that of Acadia, Miscou, and Cape Breton. The new organization was charged with the cost of government, the maintenance of one hundred soldiers, and the performance of the obligations incurred to the religious orders. Twenty emigrants were to be sent annually to Canada from France, and one thousand lbs. of beaver skins were to be paid each year to the old Company.

In spite of the peace, some Algonquins were killed during the winter. The Mohawks sent an embassy to protest against their being held responsible for the outrage. It was thought advisable to acknowledge their presence, and Father Jogues and Bourdon were selected to perform the duty. Jogues necessarily shrank from revisiting the spot where he had suffered so much torture. His, however, was not a spirit to falter, so he prepared to proceed as he had been directed. As advised he took the precaution not to appear as an ecclesiastic, but to dress as a layman. Bourdon had been twelve years in Canada, and had obtained the grant of the Seigneurie of the Pointe aux Trembles.

The embassy reached the Mohawk. Jogues was well received, fulfilled the trust delegated to him, and returned in safety to Three Rivers. He was impressed by his reception at the scene of his former sufferings. He was promised a constant welcome in the wigwam of the family in which he had passed so many months of misery, and finding some Christian Huron Indians among the Iroquois, he administered to them religious consolation. The consideration which he received determined him to return to the Mohawks, after communicating the result of his mission. Accordingly he left behind him a small box containing some articles of personal use, to save him the trouble of carrying it to and fro. Previous to his departure he was careful to open the box and display its contents. This circumstance would show that the determination arose with himself: and, no doubt, his sanguine view of the situation influenced the decision by which he was sent thither.

Jogues proceeded to carry out his purpose of returning to the Hudson. As he ascended the Richelieu he met canoes on the river, from whom the reports of the state of feeling of the Mohawks was unsatisfactory. There had been a poor crop : there was more than the usual sickness, and the cause was assigned to the bewitching influences created by the box left behind by Jogues. It had been stated that the intention of the French was to destroy the Mohawks, and that they took this form of doing so, and a strong appeal had been made to take up the hatchet against them. On hearing this news, the Hurons accompanying Jogues declined to proceed further, and they returned home ; Jogues continued his route with a young Frenchman ; when on his journey he was seized and carried prisoner to the old spot. There was not unanimity with regard to him ; some of the tribe wished to save his life. On the evening of the 18th October, 1646, Jogues was invited to a supper ; and as he was entering the tent, his skull was cleft in two by a tomahawk. There is unusual authority as to his death, for the Governor of New York addressed M. de Montmagny on the subject. Jogues was 48 years of age. Laland, the young Frenchman, was killed the following day. Peace was again broken.

The small number of the population of Canada caused the trade in furs to be generally profitable, and the change in its management gave it an unusual impulse. It was not free from the difficulties which often attend success. Disputes arose as to the division of the profits. Petitions were sent home. A change took place in the government of the country, with regard to the settlement of disputes and in other respects. A Council was formed, consisting of the Governor, the Bishop, or in his place if none were appointed, the Superior of the Jesuits, and the Governor of Montreal. In the absence of either, his representative should take his place. The Council was to name moreover, the executive officers of the colony. A secretary was to be appointed, whose signature would give effect to all contracts. The Council took cognizance of the whole affairs of the country.

The Commander of the Fleet, the Syndics representing the inhabitants of Montreal, Three Rivers and Quebec, had each a right to be heard, when their interests were in question. An audit of the accounts was established. Officers were appointed for the space of three years only. Liberty of trade was given to the inhabitants, but they could only purchase with the products of the country, and the furs had then to be brought to the public stores to be received at a fixed price. The charge of 25,000 francs was established on the profit of the furs to pay the governors and garrisons of Quebec and Three Rivers, while ten thousand francs had to be paid to keep up the garrison of Montreal to the strength of thirty men. No strangers could pass to Canada but by the vessels of the Company. All independence of action was thus denied to those dwelling in Canada. They were as much as ever confined within arbitrary regulations. No enterprize succeeded, except when under the control of the Company. It is not to be wondered at that the population remained so long stationary, and that the Iroquois continued unchecked in their outrages.

In 1648, M. de Montmagny was relieved from the position which he had held for twelve years. His term of office of three years had been thrice renewed. The ability which he had shewn with the slender resources at his command, suggests that his appointment could have been advantageously continued. But M. de Poincy, Governor of the West Indies, having refused to give up his authority to the Governor sent to relieve him, it was determined that no Colonial Governor should hold office for more than three years. M. de Montmagny had made the best of a difficult position. Called upon to meet extraordinary emergencies, and without either men or resources adequate to carry out a policy he felt should be followed, his government had been marked by sense, courage and judgment. He was never found wanting in the hour of trial, and acted with prudence, when he could not adopt measures marked by vigour. His political position was not free from difficulty, but he steered through its intricacies with much

skill. His manners were simple, and the Jesuit diarist relates how unwilling he was to be made prominent in the administration of the Sacrament ; he placed himself reverently at the chancel railings with other communicants only to be its recipient in his turn.

M. d'Ailleboust, who succeeded him, had been sometime in Montreal ; thus he was by no means new to the country. He was appointed for three years. The Council was reconstituted, to consist of the Governor, head of the Jesuits, and the Syndics. It possessed legislative, judicial and executive powers in all affairs of the colony, with appeal to the King alone. During his governorship, an event took place remarkable as the first attempt to establish commercial relations between Canada and the English Colonies. A relationship which, in altered national conditions, it is still the effort of diplomacy satisfactorily to adjust. Even the brief period, when the Northern Continent of America was under one government, was not marked by such relationship ; and the divergency of interests caused by the United States War of Independence, remains yet to be reconciled.

Although thirty years had only elapsed since the "Mayflower" left England [1620] to form a settlement at Plymouth, under Jonathan Carver, events had rapidly developed the Colonies into an important community. In 1628 a new association, by Royal Charter, had founded Boston, and the emigration from England was becoming so frequent that vessels were stopped from leaving the Thames. New Hampshire took its rise in 1623. In 1630 colonization had penetrated into Maine. In 1635 colonists from Massachusetts established Connecticut. Newhaven was founded in 1638. Providence and Rhode Island in 1636 and 1638, to be united in 1644. In 1643 the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Newhaven, formed a Confederation under the name of the United Colonies of New England.

In 1647, negotiations were commenced by the elder Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, for a treaty of commerce between New England and New France. The policy desired

was, that peace should exist between the Colonies of North America, whatever their nationality, regardless of the wars which might arise in Europe. If this opinion obtained currency for a time it did not long continue, for, until the close of the second quarter of the eighteenth century, from the last years of the seventeenth, New England was the most determined, energetic, unceasing opponent of New France ; and it was her territory and commerce which bore all the early losses, arising in the contest. Winthrop aimed at the establishment of a purely commercial relationship by which the Colonies would be the purchasers of the furs of New France, and the medium of supplying her wants in the form of corn and provisions ; a condition, however advantageous to both parties, unattainable in the condition in which New France was placed.

The details of the offer thus made by New England are lost. We are better informed of the steps taken in Canada. The messenger selected was Père Druillètes, who had arrived in Canada in 1643. Two years later the Abenaki Indians, who had now become in a way Christianized, applied to the Head of the Jesuits for a priest to accompany them in one of their expeditions. The duty was assigned to Père Druillètes. He accompanied them as their religious teacher and confessor, to obtain their perfect confidence so that the influence of the French over the tribe was never lost. They remained to the last the unflinching adherents of the French, ready instruments of their purpose in any scheme of destruction of the New England outpost settlements.

The Abenakis occupied principally the territory of Maine, and New Hampshire, and were claimed by the settlers of Plymouth to be under their jurisdiction. Owing to the relationship of Père Druillètes with them in 1647 he was personally established as their missionary. After some months' residence, in that year he descended the Kennebec, and visited the seven or eight English settlements on the coast. He was well received, and passed along the northern coast to the Penobscot, called by the French, Pentagouet. His pleas-

ant manners and address made the best possible impression on those whom he met. He then returned to his mission and after passing some time with the Abenakis he resumed his place at Quebec. We are told that he was deputed by the Abenakis to ask assistance from New England against the Iroquois,* but that he obtained little sympathy. He passed that winter at Tadousac. In the winter 1649–1650, he was again with the Abenakis.

The letters from Winthrop to Quebec had been replied to in a friendly spirit. The proposition of a treaty of commerce in itself had been welcomed; but, the Council of New France desired to append a further treaty of offensive and defensive alliance. The Iroquois had lately attacked the Abenakis, and it was to enlist the active assistance of New England that it was determined to send a message to Boston.

In September, 1650, Père Druillètes started to submit this proposal. The Kennebec, even at that date, was a perfectly known route, and to follow its waters was attended only by the ordinary labour experienced in a rough broken water-way marked by many portages. He reached Norridgewock. Fifteen leagues farther was the first English settlement, now the city of Augusta. Druillètes was hospitably received, and continued his journey to Boston and Plymouth. He stopped at Roxborough, where John Elliott was engaged in the education of the Indians, and the latter kindly received and entertained him. He returned to his mission, and in June 1651, found his way back to Quebec. He reported the result of his journey. He had been impressed with the energy and life shewn in the English community. He was struck with their power, and considered them well qualified to aid in the war against the Iroquois. He estimated that they could bring four thousand men into the field, and as they had exterminated two races of Indians *usque ad mingentem ad parietem*, they could lend powerful assistance. Druillètes returned with the belief that he had succeeded

* Rel. 1652, p. 26.

in his mission, and that public sentiment generally was favourable to it.

In 1651, a regularly constituted embassy was sent from Quebec. With Druillètes was associated Jean Godefroy, one of the Council. At that date there was a law in New England, that any Jesuit entering the country should be warned to depart, and that if he reappeared he should be hanged. It was knowledge of this fact which led the ambassador to be styled "le Sieur Gabriel Druillètes," preacher of the Gospel to the Indian nations.*

The alliance to be urged was that, independently of the commercial connection, there should be a joint expedition against the Iroquois, or that the French should be permitted to march an armed force through New England to attack the Mohawks. The line of communication would have been from Boston to Troy, then a wilderness, and impenetrable; and there could have been little knowledge as to the true character of the request, or great insincerity in making it. The ground of argument to sustain the demand was that the Iroquois had attacked the English allies, the Abenakis.

Père Druillètes found that although he was courteously welcomed in New England, wherever he appeared there was a change of sentiment on the subject of his mission. There was certainly little ground for the English Colonies to engage in a war with a tribe in no way coming into contact with them or any English Colony. New York was then Dutch, and so remained until 1664. Plymouth had discussed the proposition in the winter and had carried a resolution rejecting both demands; aid in the Indian war, or permission to pass through their territory. The proposals were, however, discussed and a courteous reply given; to the effect, that New England was willing to enter into unrestricted trade, but that they preferred to decline engaging in any Iroquois war.

The French never lost their opportunity to assert their influence over the Indian. On this occasion they pointed out that the English had refused all assistance to the Abenakis,

* Quebec documents, Vol. I., p. 129.

and had left them at the mercy of the Iroquois. The appeal to Indian susceptibility was not in vain. The Abenaki became confirmed in his hate to the English. The massacres of York, Wells, Salem and Oyster Bay prove how well and skilfully the feeling was maintained for half a century; for it was the Abenakis who were the instruments on these occasions of French policy.

Surprise has been expressed that the proposal was not accepted. It would have been highly advantageous for New France to have had the strength of New England turned upon her enemies to perform a duty which New France herself ought, unaided, to have fulfilled. New England had no quarrel with the Iroquois, and could know them only by name. For the English Colonists to have entered gratuitously in such a contest could have been justified by no sound policy, and would have brought certain punishment.

During this time Montreal was continuing its struggling condition. With an insufficient garrison it could perform no function of self-development, nor in any way aid the advancement of the Colony by an exhibition of strength. It contained scarcely fifty men capable of bearing arms. At this juncture, M. de la Dauversière failed, and, as he had in trust the monies given by Madame de Bullion, the money was not available, and Madlle. Mance proceeded to France to place herself in relation with her benefactress.

By 1649 there were no more Hurons to destroy. Accordingly, the whole strength of the Iroquois was turned against the Saint Lawrence. They had even, as has been remarked, attacked the Abenakis. Throughout Canada, the inhabitants lived in continual danger. The Indians even ravaged the Island of Orleans. Individually, great gallantry was shewn. The men who were brought face to face with the Iroquois never failed to give a good account of themselves. As a rule, they were overwhelmed by numbers, for the Iroquois seldom attacked, but when the odds were in their favour. In such circumstances, if the French could effect a retreat it was all that they could hope. The ill-judged conduct of the directors

of the company in France not taking steps to protect the country with a sufficient force, was hourly felt almost to destroy hope.

It was in this extremity that Madlle. Mance agreed to place in the hands of de Maisonneuve 22,000 francs received from Madame de Bullion for the Hospital. By these means he could proceed to France and obtain additional force. It was by this payment that the Hospital obtained the ground now covered with houses, Saint Anne's Suburb, Montreal, still held by them *en fief*. Indeed it is known as Fief Nazareth. Accordingly de Maisonneuve proceeded to France, and, when there, received an additional twenty-five thousand francs from the same sympathizing source. His return in 1653 will be hereafter related, and such was the desperate condition of the colony that de Lauson endeavoured to retain the reinforcement of one hundred and five men at Quebec.

In 1652, M. d'Ailleboust retired from the government, after the expiration of three years of office. He did not leave Canada, but established himself at Montreal. He died in Quebec in 1660. Madame d'Ailleboust, in 1663, became an Ursuline nun for a few months and, leaving the Convent, went again into the world to remain a distinguished member of Quebec society for a quarter of a century.

Madame d'Ailleboust's name appears more than once in the history of Canada, generally accompanied by some remarkable incident. Her maiden name was Barbe de Boulogne. When a child she had made a vow of perpetual chastity. M. d'Ailleboust became a suitor for her hand, but it was with the understanding that the vow should be enforced, and he was threatened with stern retribution if an attempt were made to pass it by. She arrived in Canada in 1644. Her husband had preceded her in command of a detachment in 1643. He died in 1660. Three years later, when in her forty-eighth year, she entered the Ursuline Convent as a novice. But, as the Chronicler of the Convent informs us, a few months shewed that Heaven had not granted to this pious lady the same vocation as that possessed by her sister Mère St. Dominique. She had difficulty in dispensing with the assistance of her maid, and was unable to accustom herself to the '*petits sacrifices*' exacted by the uniform life of the community. After eight or nine months' experience she concluded that she was incapable of accepting that existence, "and left the monastery, to repeat in the world her career of good works and edification." On de Tracy's arrival in 1665, she offered her aid in nursing the sick soldiers.

The last official act of de Mesy's life was, to rise from his sick bed, on 7th February, 1665, to preside at a meeting of the Council, when her application for a loan of four hundred livres was granted, she being in difficulty, 'pour luy suruenir en ses necessitez.'* When this lady was of the mature age of fifty-three, the Sœur Juchereau tells us † such was her charm and fascination of manner that both de Courcelles and Talon desired to marry her; thus obtaining admiration by coquetting in the world as she had played with religion. We are told however, this generous woman remained faithful to her resolution. She hired an apartment at the Hotel Dieu, and in 1685 died there, aged 70.

* Jugements et Deliberations du Conseil Souverain. Vol. I., p. 217.

† p. 219.

CHAPTER V.

By the close of the year 1650, the Jesuit missions among the Hurons, commenced under the most favourable auspices, had been abandoned ; five of the missionaries murdered, and the whole Huron territory turned into a desert. In relating their history it must not be forgotten that these missions were first established by the Recollets in the early days of Champlain. In 1616 Father Le Caron had proceeded thither, and although the Recollet Fathers in the country did not exceed six in number, they had begun the mission of Tadousac, which had somewhat of a temporary character, that on the south shore among the Montagnais, and they had extended their labours among the Hurons. The first church built was that of Tadousac.

It was not until 1623 that the Huron mission took a definite character, and among the early fathers who shewed great activity in his duties was the unfortunate Nicolas Viel, drowned in the Sault which to this day bears the name of his order.* The Jesuit Father de Breboeuf joined the mission in 1626, and remained engaged in it until 1629, when he returned to Quebec. There is no record of his labours during that period. The possession of Canada by the English from 1629 to 1632, for a time put an end to the missions of the Roman Catholic Church. They were recommenced in 1634, as has been stated, by Fathers de Breboeuf, Daniel and Daoust, and in 1635 Fathers Pijart and Le Mercier proceeded to take part in them. The relations of 1636 state that at that date there were six missionaries, and in the account of the fire of 1640 at Quebec, we learn that the mission was composed of twenty-seven persons.

The life at the mission was one of perpetual discomfort. From the hour of leaving Three Rivers, the priests had to

* The Sault au Recollet, north of Montreal.

paddle and to labour equally with the Indians during the navigation of the rivers; an effort not painful to men in health and strength, with ample allowance of food, and possessing the appliances of camp life; but the first missionaries were insufficiently fed, often to the verge of starvation. They had to gain sleep as they best could, frequently on some rocky point, tortured by flies. As they arrived in the country they had to undergo all the opposition which more or less every new doctrine calls forth. In all communities we meet what we call the conservative element, a party disliking change, whose opinions are subjective, based on their own experience; who consider as unnecessary what they themselves have never missed. To such as these, the new religious teaching inculcated a civilization which they could not recognize as desirable. Its mysteries, by the light of the native traditions which they had been taught, appeared to them mere extravagance, which they did not understand, nor did they think it desirable that they should do so. Suspicion, moreover, is ever the hand-maiden of ignorance, and it was not absent in this instance.

In 1640 there was a change in the policy of dealing with the Hurons. Until this date the missionaries went from bourgade to bourgade, and each one worked independently according to circumstance. It was now considered that in place of wandering from village to village, it was advisable to establish a centre, from whence all action would be directed and systematized. As a whole, the mission would be stationary at this spot. Two or three fathers would always be present, while periodically different districts would be visited; these sub-missions remaining under the central control. Moreover, the head establishment would furnish a point to which the missionaries would themselves turn as to a home, in sorrow, need, sickness, tribulation or any other adversity. The desire was to select a central situation, accessible in all directions, so that future change of site would be unnecessary, and accordingly that a permanent character would be given to the Head Station of the Jesuit Huron missions.

Such was the origin of the Saint Mary Station* on the Wye, a small stream tributary to Matchedash Bay. It was conveniently situated, possessing water communication with Lake Simcoe ; likewise to the Huron Country to the south, by the little river itself.

Whatever arrangements were made by the Jesuits in view of attaining success, they themselves had to contend with extraordinary disadvantages. Primarily may be named the general incapacity to understand the religious enthusiasm which dictated the effort to obtain converts to their form of belief ; a result bringing no advantage to those seeking to gain proselytes. As the leading chiefs were unable to comprehend the self-devotion so displayed, they assigned motives for the conduct of the missionaries in accordance with their own sentiments and theories of action. They could alone trace self-interest as the guiding principle. They imagined the existence of a plot to destroy their race, and that the Jesuits were the magicians who were to effect it. The claim to supernatural influences which ran through the Jesuit teaching encouraged this idea, and the Indians could not understand that such power could only be beneficially exercised. The Hurons, accustomed to their own filth and squalor, were in the first instance struck with the buildings of the Jesuits, their embroidered vestments, the decorations of the altar, purposely made conspicuous and attractive. Then arose the question, Why was this ? Disinterested sense of duty dictating to them the employment of what to them was such wonderful splendour was beyond their grasp. Their ideas of nobility of character ran in an opposite direction. They knew what it was to go on the war-path, uncomplainingly to remain without food, even for days, to fight to the last and if conquered stoically to accept the situation ; to dance and sing when hot cinders were poured on their wounds ; to endeavour to swallow a portion of their own ear bit off by a squaw, or child of a conqueror and forced into the mouth, or contemptuously with-

* The stone foundations yet remain, and can be seen by the traveller from the train of the Midland Railway.

out a change of muscle spit it out ; and while burning by a slow fire to the last set their enemies at defiance. The difficulty lay in accepting the calling and mission of the Jesuit Fathers as one honest in purpose, having the intention of diffusing comfort and happiness. To the last they were looked upon by many as wizards and sorcerers. Hence their lives were constantly being held in the balance, at the mercy of some red man who would feel he was performing an act of patriotism to slay them. Some heads of families were, however, early baptised, and a promise had been given that the children should be sent to school at Quebec. But at best the progress was slow, and the teaching imperfectly accepted.

There was a constant call for some service at the fort. A large rough building had been constructed in the vicinity, where any new comer was housed, made welcome and fed for three days. The food was ground maize seasoned with smoked fish, three times a day. This abode to the savage was one of comfort, if not of splendour. To the Indian the one thought of life is that of the wild beast, to minister to the necessities of life. To find food to assuage the hunger of the hour may be said to be the master thought of his mind. To be freed from such a tyranny for a period must be comparative happiness. Some families also established themselves in the neighbourhood of the mission. As there were always Indians passing to and fro, including savages who were not converts, to observe what was doing, the mission in its best days must have presented a scene of prosperous animation. After the Iroquois attacks of 1648-49, when the Hurons had fled from the country, the fort was abandoned. The lives of its inmates were in no way safeguarded, and it was their departure alone which saved them from the fate of de Breboeuf and Lalemant.

It is possible that in time the perseverance of the Jesuits would finally have met with full success. With many Hurons such was really the case. A generation had grown up since the Recollets first visited the Huron country, and opinion was daily forming to the more favourable recognition of the lives

of abnegation and beneficence led by the Jesuit Fathers. Unfortunately, those who accepted Christianity did not retain the remembrance that they had hereditary enemies, who would not fail if opportunity offered savagely to attack them. They should, accordingly, have been encouraged not to depart from the spirit of self-reliance, by which they had been upheld in ancient days.

The hostility of the Iroquois had even been intensified by the presence of the French. The Hurons indeed came to be regarded as the allies and supporters of the hated white man on the Saint Lawrence, against whom constant war was to be waged. Every settlement above Three Rivers was an additional threat to the Indian. The River Richelieu, discharging into the Saint Lawrence, was looked upon by the Iroquois as the boundary of French power. Such limit might be tolerated for the purpose of barter and trade. The establishment of the French at Montreal furnished an additional cause for exterminating the Hurons. This view of the situation ought to have been read aright ; but it obtained little consideration. The missions lasted fifteen years. Their operations had gradually widened, until at the close they had sixty-four persons present or attached to the establishment on the River Wye. Nevertheless, they were asking for more priests ; when it was physical support which was needed to stay the destruction of the people who, to a greater or less degree, they were striving to influence to accept their teaching.

They had money. It was liberally subscribed in France. They had lay brothers, *donnés* ; enthusiastic young men, devoted to the mission with humbler accessories to do the bidding of the Superior. Could the Iroquois have been excluded the end might have been that the Hurons would have turned into a docile semi-agricultural population clinging to old habits so as to retain much of their character, as we see in Lorette and Caughnawaga ; utterly unprogressive, remaining in perfectly blissful ignorance. The Iroquois determined that such should not be the case.

The control of the water-ways to the Huron country was a

serious matter to the Jesuits, for they depended upon them for their communication with Montreal, and any loss of supplies was greatly felt. Moreover, the missionaries not only obtained articles for their own use, but also for barter with the Western tribes, by which furs were obtained. When the canoes failed to appear, the Jesuits were deprived of many comforts, and even necessities. On one occasion there was no wine for the sacrament, and it had to be manufactured by them from wild grapes.

The general result of the hostilities had been decidedly against the Hurons, although occasionally some slight successes had been gained by them. The mission itself had never been in dread of Iroquois attacks. It was removed from their war-path, and the fathers had in no way been molested. A warning, however, came in 1648 which showed that there was even a strong feeling against them with the Hurons. A youth named Douart was found murdered near the fort. There had been nothing in the life of the man to awaken Indian jealousy, and the act could only be attributed to his connection with the mission. There was much that was ominous in the outrage for it was felt that it could have been caused by no personal feeling. It soon came to be known that the act had been committed by the anti-christian party among the Hurons. A meeting was held by the Chiefs. Some of those present justified what had been done, on the ground that the time had come when the French should be driven from the country. The question resolved itself into a trial of strength between the two parties, those hostile and those well disposed to the French. The friends of the fathers proved the strongest.

Matters quieted down, and, as the season suggested, it was resolved to send the canoes to Three Rivers, with the furs which had been collected for barter, and to bring back the supplies required. Two hundred and fifty of the Indians of those under French influence, accompanied by Père Bressani, started on the journey. Fortunately, on their arrival at Lake St. Peter, they were able, not only to repel an Iroquois

attack made upon the body, but they also inflicted loss upon their assailants and took several prisoners. They returned home with equal good fortune. The party included five Jesuit priests and thirty lay assistants. Among them Gabriel Lalemant, proceeding to his death, to follow in a few months.

Events were hastening onward in the Huron country by which the missions should be brought to a close. While the Iroquois had become more hostile and were more persevering in their attacks, the Hurons shewed less resistance and were animated by less courage. The old spirit, it would seem, was dying out of the Peninsula. There were individual efforts of gallantry, but there was no organization to repel attack, and on all sides a want of determination was shewn in meeting the critical position in which this unhappy tribe was placed. We cannot but feel how capable these people were of defending themselves, if right counsels had prevailed, and some disciplined assistance been given them from Quebec. A few score of French soldiers would have totally prevented the disastrous results which followed. Warning upon warning was repeated. In 1647 the Iroquois tribe, the Senecas, attacked the Neuters, under circumstances of peculiar treachery. The Senecas had arrived as friends and had so been received. On a given signal they attacked and slaughtered all who were present. The Neuters remained passive under the wrong. It was a lesson to the Hurons, plainly to tell them that their turn was to come, and the treatment they would receive would be as merciless. Special precautions should have been taken, and a resistance organized for the coming trial. No precaution of any kind was taken, and when the Iroquois attack came there was nothing to withstand it.

The first blow fell on the mission at Teanaustayé known as St. Joseph, fifteen miles from St. Mary. The place was destroyed on 4th July, 1648. Many of the men were absent on a hunting expedition ; the village contained few but women and children, with those of the tribe who were not at the chase. The whole were in church when the alarm was given, that the Iroquois were upon them. By night the place was in

ashes and seven hundred prisoners marched off. It was here Father Daniel was killed. He had been among the foremost to meet the assault, and had endeavoured to organise some resistance to it. He was shot through the heart early in the attack. He had been one of the first to take his position in the missions ; he had once returned to Quebec, and again he proceeded to the west to continue his labours and to meet his fate.

Antoine Daniel was a native of Dieppe. He had joined the Jesuits at an early age, and was forty-eight when he fell. He arrived in Canada in 1633, and had been fourteen years connected with the missions. He is mentioned* by le Jeune as an earnest student of the Indian languages, making good progress. His career shews him to have been self-reliant, and never deficient in resources. It was Daniel whose Huron eloquence in one of the Indian councils, called to consider the accusations of sorcery raised against the fathers, which did much to satisfy the Hurons of the honesty of their intentions. If he did not succeed in obtaining immediate recognition of the mysteries of the religion which he taught, he quieted opinion, and removed many of the prejudices which were then entertained by the tribe. He was always earnest and devoted to the life he had embraced.

The year following, the Iroquois were early in the field in large numbers. Their war party is named at twelve hundred fighting men. They proceeded unrelentingly to carry out their purpose : the entire destruction of the Hurons. Fifteen towns were burnt, or left a prey to the victors, for the Hurons fled in terror before the attacking force, abandoning their homes. No defence was made ; the Iroquois advanced through the country unchecked in their ravages. On the 16th March, 1649, Saint Louis, scarcely a league from the Main Station, St. Mary's, was attacked and destroyed, de Breboeuf and Lalemant being présent at this place, specially engaged in their duties. They were made prisoners, for no defence was possible. With the other unfortunate captives they were car-

* Relation 1635.

ried to Saint Ignace, which had equally been attacked and possession taken of it. A letter is extant* relating circumstantially the fearful tortures the captured fathers underwent previous to being burnt. The writer further states that the remains were buried on the 21st following, and that when the Jesuits were leaving the country the bones were dug up, boiled in strong lye and carried to Quebec.

Jean de Breboeuf was born near Bayeux, of a distinguished Normandy family. He had joined the order in his twenty-fourth year ; at his death he was fifty-six years old. He was tall, of commanding presence, possessing unusual strength and powers of endurance. He was marked by much determination and firmness of character, and this quality, joined with his conciliatory manners, obtained for him general respect. Like many of his brethren he often expressed himself to the effect that his death would take place in the form it happened. His features are preserved to us by a silver bust, sent by his family from France, now in Quebec.

Gabriel Lalemant, nephew of Charles and of Jerome, had entered the order at twenty years of age, and was thirty-nine when he was killed. His features were pleasing and delicate, and he always retained an extremely youthful appearance. He had but a few months previously joined the mission, and was devoting himself zealously to learning the language when his career was so cruelly closed.

In December, 1649, Garnier was killed at St. John at the Tobacco mission. Garnier was born at Paris, and had entered the order at nineteen. He was not forty-four when he was killed. He had left France in 1636, and at once proceeded to the mission : eventually the scene of his labours was transferred to the Tobacco Indians. On the 7th December the town was surprised when it contained but women and children. As Garnier advanced he was struck by three balls, but as life was not extinct he was killed by a blow of a tomahawk.

* Canadian Archives, 1884, LXIIH. The writer was not an eye-witness.
“Voici ce que nous dirent ces sauvages de la prise du Bourg de St. Ignace, et des Peres Jean de Breboeuf et Gabriel L’Allemand.”

Chabanel had been the companion of Garnier. On the morning of the attack, he had left with some Hurons to proceed to the Island of St. Joseph. He never reached the spot. On their route the cries of the Iroquois were heard. The Hurons fled. Chabanel, unable to keep up with them, was left behind. Some supposed he died from starvation and suffering. If the confession of a renegade Huron is to be accepted, it was he who murdered the father, robbed him, and threw him into the river. He gave as an explanation for the act his hatred of Christianity, which had caused the ruin of his race. Noël Chabanel had joined the Jesuits when but seventeen. He was but thirty-six years of age at his death; the last description of him was by an Indian who aided him to cross a river. He had thrown away his hat, his leather case containing his papers and his mantle which, with the Jesuits, served as a cloak and also as a bed to lie upon. Nothing positive was known of his death, but he was never again seen.

- We may feel surprised that the Iroquois did not continue their operations and attack the fort. It could have offered possibly a desperate, but no effectual resistance, and, had the attack been made, it would, in all probability, have had to succumb. But some portion of the early fear of the French still survived. In ambush, in the forest, with great odds in their favour, the Iroquois did not hesitate to be the attacking party. The walls of a French fort, with cannon, still exacted respect. They were, moreover, encumbered with many prisoners, and they held it to be their policy to return homewards. While engaged in these operations, they were seized by a panic: they conceived that they were at once to be desperately attacked by the remaining Hurons. Accordingly, they resolved at once on a retreat. Those captives having strength they loaded with the booty they were carrying away. The weak, the old, the wounded, they firmly bound to make movement impossible, and cast them into what wigwams were yet standing, and these frail structures were set on fire by the retreating Iroquois and the unhappy Huron captives, unable to extricate themselves, were burnt in a body. The Hurons

made some show of attacking the retreating Iroquois, but, owing to their depressed condition, nothing was effected.

These gloomy tidings were carried to Quebec by Father Bressani, who left the missions with what furs had been obtained and likewise to bring back supplies. They caused great sorrow and depression, the more felt as there was no means of sending relief, and no reserve of strength or money to remedy the disaster. So serious a misfortune must have been regarded as almost irreparable. But hope was not quite abandoned, for Bressani obtained what supplies were required, and in spring left again for the mission.

At Saint Mary's, the death of the five missionaries in such rapid succession, Daniel, de Breboeuf, Lalemant, Garnier, and Chabanel, was a serious blow in every form. It was not simply the loss of devoted and estimable men, whose place in the duties of life were no longer filled, for in time, other priests would be found to take their place. The personal sorrow at their fate must have been most poignant ; especially when their sufferings were thought of, and the void in the small circle which they had left was felt from day to day. Moreover, it was not possible to misunderstand the spirit of extermination with which the Iroquois waged the war. There was not only to be no mercy, but the most horrible tortures were to be exercised on the prisoners who might be taken ; and it was plain that there was no force to resist this power, led onward by so savage a spirit.

A general terror seized the Huron population, whole villages remaining undestroyed were abandoned, while the unhappy exiles wandered through the country homeless and destitute. Many entirely left the territory, to seek a home with other tribes. Some found their way to Manitoulin Island. Others established themselves on the smaller islands. Three hundred families proceeded to the Christian Islands off the coast, to the north-west of Matchedash Bay. The old country hitherto inhabited by the Hurons was completely abandoned.

There was no object in the Jesuits maintaining the central

fort, from which they had attended to the religious wants of the district. There was no longer a population to require their services. The residence itself was one of danger. They could look for no material assistance from Quebec. The fort had neither provisions, nor a garrison to defend it against any serious attack. Further, it had no military strength. Forty men only were within its walls, who, for a limited time, could have given a good account of themselves. But no advantage was to be gained by its defence. On the other hand, the families on Christian Island were appealing piteously for help and aid. They asked for the establishment of another fort in their midst, stating their willingness to aid in its construction. Early in 1650, the fort of Saint Mary on the Wye, from which so much had been hoped, was abandoned. What it contained, which could be removed, was carried off; and with its residence, its chapel, and all else, it was burnt down to the foundations, which have remained undisturbed to this day.

The removal to the Christian Islands ended only in misfortune. The fort was constructed and an attempt was made to raise some crops. It was partially successful; but the harvest was entirely insufficient for the numbers assembled. During the summer, the Huron families lived on roots, on what fish could be taken, and occasionally wild fruit was found. In summer, if there be health, what privation may be experienced is not that of entire destitution, but of insufficient diet. Generally speaking, food in some shape can be found, and there is an absence of the extreme physical suffering of starvation. When winter came, what produce of summer remained was soon eaten. Acorns were then hunted for, and for a time they furnished some resource. As they disappeared, hunger led to the acceptance of any food which could be found, however repulsive in ordinary circumstances. With the coarsest fare, and often without what was necessary to sustain life, imperfectly clothed, badly housed, these privations worked their influence on this unfortunate community. An epidemic broke out. The children, as it happens in such cases, were the first to succumb, with its ravages to extend to

those of mature life ; suffering made more acute by absolute want.

The Iroquois was ever present, watching from his lair, where the wretched remnant of the Hurons could be struck down. Such as left the main body in search of food, or to hunt, were almost certain to become the prey of their ruthless pursuers. It was specially such as these which the Iroquois were enabled to destroy. The history of that winter with this unhappy people, is a continued chronicle of multiplied misery, suffering and destruction.

Its rigours passed away. The ice left the waters for them to be again open to navigation. There was still the same scarcity of provisions ; and even with the warm sun of spring destitution and want were not banished. The mission itself had received a blow it was never to recover. It was powerless to give relief or grant protection to what yet remained of the old population, a few hundred weak, dispirited, broken-hearted men and women. There arose, accordingly, the serious reflection how these survivors should be fed, and what policy was the best to be followed with regard to them. There was a consultation amid the surviving priests ; and, finally, the Superior, Father Ragueneau, determined to remove them to Quebec. The decision made, it was resolved to carry it out without delay before the Iroquois should hear of the design, and attack them in their descent of the Ottawa. Three hundred Christian Hurons constituted the number who were transferred to Quebec. Such was the sole remnant of the once numerous, energetic, prosperous tribes of this territory.

This policy was carried out ; the expedition started for the east. The fathers, with those they were protecting, passed through the old route of travel. How different to the days of half a century back when it was first ascended by Champlain, then so well peopled with tribes different in name and character, with power and self-assertion for their presence to be felt and considered. All this country was now a solitude. Lake Nipissing was without the least sign of life. "The Island" Allumette, formerly so important a spot that its

residents had to be conciliated for the French to pass this reach of the Ottawa, had been abandoned, or its inhabitants had been exterminated.

As Father Ragueneau, with his charge, travelled onwards, they came upon the indications of an advancing party. It was not a welcome discovery. The only meeting which they could look for in such circumstances was with the Iroquois. It proved to be Father Bressani -returning with forty French and twenty Hurons, with what supplies could be furnished from Quebec, to shew that the brethren there had not deserted the mission, and that they were anxious, as best they were able, to assist it. The party had just before experienced the audacity of a small band of Iroquois who had wintered on the Ottawa. So little opposition had they experienced of late years that they now held numbers of little account. Their war party consisted but of ten men ; they had, however, not hesitated to attack that of Bressani, although greatly outnumbering them, trusting to the surprise of their assault. With all their teaching and experience, Bressani's party were bivouacing in perfect confidence ; no sentinel had been placed, as no attack had been contemplated. But the Iroquois had miscalculated their chances, for the attacking band was destroyed, six being killed and two taken prisoners. Father Bressani was himself wounded in the assault.

It was useless for the Quebec relieving party to go further on their western journey, as those to whom they were bringing supplies were abandoning the country ; they therefore joined Father Ragueneau : and went onward with him in his descent of the Ottawa. At Montreal a resting place was offered to those who would remain there. The dread of the Iroquois still clung to the broken-hearted Huron, and Montreal was held to be within their attack. The offer therefore was not accepted. It was only at Quebec that they held that they would be safe, so thither they went to be established, and for a time to become dependent on the public charity.

Of the Hurons who did not proceed to the Christian Islands, some portion found their way to Lake Michigan, and

were afterwards known as the Wyandots. Some reached the Mississippi, some joined the tribe which bordered Lake Erie. The whole Huron Country became a desert, for its population had been slaughtered, or were carried off, or in fear had abandoned it. The Mission House was burnt ; and the Fathers forced to leave the country with no hope of revisiting it.

Such was the condition of the Mission in 1650 and such its close.

One permanent result of these Missions was the knowledge obtained of Lake Superior. As early as 1640 Fathers Jogues and Raymbault were at Sault Saint Mary. This fall is within a league of the entrance into Lake Superior from the east, and is the only fall from the Lake to the lower level of Georgian Bay. These northern waters pass downward through numerous small lakes and amid several islands. They diverge at Michillimakinac ; to the west to Lake Michigan, to the east to Georgian Bay and Lake Huron. In another place I have traced the career of Jogues. Raymbault who was with him in the Mission returned to Quebec in 1642. His constitution was shattered, and he died in a few months after his arrival. The object was to christianize the Ojibewas, also called the Saulteurs, their home being in the neighbourhood of the Sault.

The existence of Lake Superior had been known for some years previous to this date ; but the mission was only established in 1640. The passage from the Huron country to Lake Superior, is so easily accomplished that it is scarcely possible that it was not made at an early date. From the mouth of Matchedash Bay to the Sault is but a trifle over three hundred miles ; and, after coasting the east of Georgian Bay to Manitoulin Island, the route, in ordinary weather, is through entirely quiet water, without one troublesome rapid.

One name is mentioned in connection with the Jesuit missions, around whose discoveries no little fable has been cast. It is that of Jean Nicollet. It has been claimed that to him must be attached the honour of having first reached the waters of the Mississippi. That from Lake Michigan, by Green Bay and Lake Winnipago, he ascended the Neenah, or Fox

River, and, making the portage to the Wisconsin, descended to the Mississippi. There is no evidence to sustain the assertion. Indeed, what is known, to my mind, plainly shews that Nicollet was never beyond Lake Michigan.

Jean Nicollet was born at Cherbourg and came to Canada in 1618. He was sent to the Allumette Island to learn the Algonquin language, and was for many years living with the Indians.

During the English occupation his name appears among those who remained in the country. In 1635 he is mentioned as an interpreter at Quebec. Subsequently, in 1637, he married Marguerite Couillard, the grand daughter of Hébert; and in 1642 he replaced Olivier le Tardif as Clerk of the Company. A few months afterwards he was drowned near Quebec, opposite Sillery. With three others, he left for Three Rivers, at the request of de Montmagny, in order to prevent an Indian prisoner from being burnt. Despatch was indispensable, and, although a storm was raging, the start was made. A squall struck the canoe, by which it was upset and the three were drowned.

In his early wanderings, Nicollet had joined a tribe of Nipissing Indians, and obtained such influence among them as to take part in their Councils. He remained with them some years, and it was on his leaving them that he was appointed interpreter. He joined a party of Hurons in an expedition to the West, to the Puants, on Lake Michigan. It was an embassy of peace. He is described as wearing a Chinese dress, embroidered with flowers and birds, and with his two pistols he caused astonishment by his control of thunder. It is in this expedition that it is said he reached the Mississippi. Father Vimont's words are plain on the point; that if Nicollet had continued his journey three days forward, on a main river which goes from this lake, he would have found the sea.

The statement of such a possibility is, geographically, so incorrect, that no reliance can be placed upon it. It further positively establishes that Nicollet did not correctly know

what he was attempting to describe. From the mouth of the Wisconsin to the embouchure of the Mississippi,* there is a distance of fourteen degrees of latitude, and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, there is upwards of three hundred miles ; in these waters, twenty days paddle, not to speak of the portage on the height of land.

Nicollet was doubtless the first known European who entered on the waters of Lake Michigan : but in no way he added to the knowledge of our geography. He was enterprizing, bold and determined ; his attainments were limited to the knowledge of some Indian dialects, and he could read and write. The route itself was one which, unless thoroughly explored would lead to the continuance of error. There is no marked natural indication of the existence of the peninsula of Michigan when passing through the straits of Mackinaw : on the contrary, there is nothing to remove the impression that another island has been coasted, similar to those repeatedly met in the northern waters of Lake Huron. The voyager immediately on entering into Michigan sees the eastern horizon defined only by the water line. At this date this lake was believed to extend to the shores of western Ontario in unbroken water. The map of 1670 of de Galinée the Sulpician shews Lakes Huron and Michigan as one body of water ; while on the same map the River Saint Lawrence to Lake Ontario, with the north shore of Lake Erie to Detroit, with the Ottawa, for that date, are fairly given. The Jesuits' map of 1671 gives the peninsula of Michigan, shewing that the Fathers had explored these waters previous to that date.

It must have been between 1627 and 1635 when Nicollet first penetrated into Lake Michigan ; and it is not improbable that it was during the three years of English occupation. These waters were then quite unknown. It was not until 1673 that Joliet and Marquette reached the Mississippi by this very route. At that date there was a mission at the head

* Le Sieur Nicolet qui a le plus auant penetré dedans ces pays si esloignés m'a assuré que s'il eust vogué trois iours plus auant sur vn grand fleuve qui sort de ce lac qu'il auroit trouué la mer. Rel., 1640, p. 36.

of Green Bay. It took them ten days to descend from the summit by the Wisconsin, and unless by the assistance of guides they could never have found their way from one river to the other. A proof to my mind that Nicollet could never have proceeded further than Lake Michigan. He was not wanting in intelligence, and, had he been able so to do, he could have given fuller and more correct information.

No one can read the Jesuit Relations, without tracing the constant earnest endeavour, to discover every additional fact bearing upon the history of the country, and it is certain that no tradition of any kind was preserved of Nicollet's so-called discoveries, to aid those who followed him in his assumed route.

There is one incident of travel at this date worthy of mention. On the 24th June, 1640, Quebec was much astonished by the news of the arrival of an Englishman, who had ascended the Kennebec to reach the Saint Lawrence by the Chaudière. His design was to find some means of reaching the North Sea. M. de Montmagny did not allow him to come to Quebec, but sent him under a guard to Tadousac, to reach England by a vessel returning to France. The traveller appealed to the French to aid him, as he held the difficulties of his return by the same route to be insurmountable. He stated that for two years he had been exploring the coast from Virginia to the Kennebec. The term Virginia, at that date, was not limited to the country round James River, but extended northwards, even to the territory included in the grant of Chief Justice Popham and Sir Fernando Gorges ; Plymouth and Boston. Wherever this unknown person's explorations commenced, he stated that he had been unable to find a river, by which he could ascend so as to reach Mexico. His theory was to proceed up the Saguenay, in the hope of finding such a route. "The poor man," says Père le Jeune, "would have lost fifty lives if he had had them, before he arrived at the North Sea by the route he imagined. He could have discovered nothing new, nor have found any opening to New Mexico."

The fact shews at how early a date the route was travelled. It was even known to Champlain.

CHAPTER VI.

M. de Lauson arrived at Quebec 14th October, 1651. He had been an active member of the Company, and, as the firm supporter of the Jesuits, had been the chief representative of the influence which had excluded the Recollets from Canada. His conduct proves the extent to which he was desirous of identifying his fortunes with Canada, for at an early date he obtained large concessions of territory. It was he who held the Island of Montreal, which he subsequently ceded to the Montreal Society, at the request of Père Charles Lalemant. He obtained for one of his sons the concession of the South Shore of the Saint Lawrence from the St. Francis to Lake St. Louis. The Seigneurie of de Lauson yet retaining his name was one of his acquisitions. He endeavoured to place his family in prominent positions. His eldest son came to the country as Grand Sénéchal, when a change in the administration of justice created the office. The position was, to some extent, honorary, as justice was administered by his lieutenants, with appeal to the Governor; but the name of the Sénéchal, however, appeared in the writs, and the office was one of dignity and honour.

His second son, known under the name of de Charny, obtained the title of "Grand Maître des Eaux et Forêts." Losing his wife, he entered the Church, and was afterwards Grand Vicaire of Quebec.

The Government of de Lauson, was signalized by more than the usual aggressiveness of the Iroquois. Their attacks were so persevering that there was no peace in the country and parties were always on the alert to destroy isolated individuals. Like all savage races, they became bolder as they found no well organized expedition directed against them: the one restraint to which they would submit was that of fear. They

had grown to the knowledge of the numerical weakness of the French, and, as they discovered this want of strength, they made the greater effort to attack them. As the Hurons had been destroyed, the whole Iroquois power could be concentrated on the Saint Lawrence.

The death of the Jesuit Father Buteux was an instance of the enterprise and determination with which they carried out their remorseless policy. He was proceeding to the Attikamegs or White Fish Indians, on the Saint Maurice, who were generally Christians. They had applied for a missionary. Owing to scarcity of provisions, the party had separated in search of food, and at this period, the father was attended only by a French youth and a Huron. They were assailed at a portage some distance north of Three Rivers ; both were killed while the Indian escaped to bring the news to Three Rivers.*

Father Buteux was a native of Abbeville, in Picardy, and at his death he was fifty-one years old.† He came to Canada in 1634, having entered the order in his twentieth year. He was suffering from illness when called upon to proceed on this expedition, but he did not feel justified in declining the service. His previous missions had been with the Algonquins and Montagnais ; eighteen years devotion had been given to these missions. It was said of him that his life was a continual fast. He allowed for rest the slightest duration of sleep, and though his health was delicate, he was constantly creating for himself some additional mortification.

The distance travelled by him north of Three Rivers occupied five weeks : he left that place the 4th of April, and it was the 10th May when he was murdered. It shewed the boldness of the Iroquois, if it were they who committed the outrage, who could penetrate in small bands so far north of

* According to the Jesuits' Journal, 10th May, 1652, 'Ce fut dans les Trois Rivières au troisième portage.' If this be correct, the Grand-Mère, 29 miles above Three Rivers must have been the spot. There is a discrepancy between time and distance. It is not impossible that Buteux had been unable to proceed from illness.

† Relations, 1632.

the Saint Lawrence, and likewise a proof of the little fear they entertained of being opposed. The inference follows that the tribes near Three Rivers must have greatly degenerated, otherwise no such insignificant parties of Iroquois would have risked their lives in these distant expeditions, cut off from help, which, with warlike, hostile tribes, would have exposed them to defeat and death.

Among the Hurons saved from the massacres of the west, a few families had established themselves at Three Rivers. Sustained by the French, there was occasionally an exhibition of their former vigour and courage. As a whole, they accepted their condition. Many of the tribe had been carried away and adopted into the Iroquois, so that the Hurons of Three Rivers occasionally met Iroquois parties which contained these affiliations, and a threatened combat sometimes ended in a parley. The attempt was always being made to detach the Hurons from the French side, and the proceeding led the French not to give the most implicit confidence to the new comers.

In the summer of 1652 a large party of Iroquois appeared and prepared to attack Three Rivers. Finding themselves overmatched, they fell back on their duplicity, and pretended that they were envoys despatched on a mission of peace. On the invitation of the French, the Iroquois sent forward several canoes, when a parley ensued; and on some of the number coming ashore three of them were seized. Among them Aontarisati, a chief of some renown, and equally known for his cruelty. The three were burned.

The death of Aontaristi caused among the Iroquois the strongest desire for revenge. Bands of them appeared incessantly in the neighbourhood, watching for every opportunity to murder and to ravage. All connection between Montreal and Three Rivers was cut off, and any individual leaving the protection of the fort, did so at the risk of his life.

The Governor of Three Rivers, at this date, was M. du Plessis Bochart. He had played a part in the history of Canada for twenty years, and had originally been in the navy. He had

served with Emeric de Caen. In 1632 he had returned with him to take back Quebec from the English garrison. It was he who received Champlain at Quebec in 1633 and ceded to him the keys of the fort as the first Governor of Canada. It was he who, at Three Rivers, had played a leading part in obtaining a passage to the Huron country of Fathers de Breboeuf and Daniel, gaily saluting them with his artillery when they left. He, bred in the traditions of Champlain, when an Indian attack was almost unknown, had lived to see the failure of the Jesuit mission, the return of what remained of the discomfited fathers, and he had powerlessly to look upon the Iroquois acting with an audacity, in his young years unknown. He had passed frequently between Canada and France in the service of the Company, and was now established at Three Rivers.

No one could have more felt the insignificant advance made in the eighteen years which had elapsed since the construction of the fort. The population was but a trifle over a hundred souls, including all within its walls. It can be conceived how such a man chafed under the insults daily inflicted on the French in Canada. On the 18th August, 1652, this feeling must have culminated to the strongest emotion. Four of the inhabitants of Three Rivers, one of them a surgeon named Plassey, proceeding in a canoe to the Cap de la Madeleine, three leagues east of Three Rivers, were attacked at one of the mouths of the Saint Maurice by eight Iroquois canoes. Two of the French were killed and two carried away as prisoners. The Governor at once determined to chastise this arrogance. On the morning of the 19th, du Plessis left Three Rivers with a force of between forty and fifty French and twelve Indians. He had proceeded between one and two leagues above the fort, when he discovered the Iroquois concealed in the bush. The river bank was marshy, the ground soft mud: nevertheless, du Plessis prepared to take the offensive. He was reminded how dangerous it was to attack the Iroquois in ambush with every advantage on their side; and it was pointed out, that if the French did succeed in the first

assault, that the Iroquois would scatter, and that it would be impossible to follow them. But du Plessis never hesitated a moment. He descended into the shallow water, and advanced at the head of his men. There were about one hundred and twenty Iroquois in ambush. By their fire eight Frenchmen fell dead, among them du Plessis, with two soldiers and five of the inhabitants of Three Rivers. A retreat followed, and seven wounded men were left to be carried off as prisoners to be tortured and burned.

The event was disastrous, not simply in the loss of a gallant gentleman, a fit leader for any enterprise, and the destruction of so many defenders, in a community so small ; but the success of the Iroquois in the skirmish increased their confidence. They had never before succeeded against the French in a struggle of this character. The depressing influence it exercised on the handful of men left behind in Three Rivers, can be imagined. Fortunately the Mohawks could not resist the triumph which would greet them on their return. They may have feared that a desperate effort would be made to rescue the prisoners. In any case they hurried away to the Mohawk River, that they might exhibit their captives and sing their song of triumph by the fires of those they were burning.

In this gloom and depression a slight gleam of success had attended the efforts of the Montreal garrison. In a sortie under Major Close, his small force was surrounded unexpectedly by two hundred Iroquois. The French fought so gallantly and with such determination, that the Indian dead fell fast ; and in order to carry them off, as was their custom, the Iroquois retreated, depressed and vanquished. To follow up the advantage by pursuit was impossible.

An edict had been passed by the Iroquois that no Huron should be spared. To shew how determined this purpose was, in mid-winter the Iroquois established a camp within three leagues of the fort, in hopes of effecting a surprise in the season of extreme frost. Their trail had been discovered, and the inhabitants were consequently warned. As they were

known to be on the alert, and as the Mohawks were suffering from hunger, they retreated, to return when the streams were navigable.

It is recorded that in the spring there were many Indian skirmishes, the Hurons on occasions being victorious. The fact gives weight to the assertion that if they had been sustained with a moderate force from Quebec, and their warlike instincts kept alive, they would have been equal to the defence of their own country, and have saved it from destruction.

In May, M. de Lauson came to Three Rivers. At the moment a salute was being fired from the fort in his honour, two out of five labourers holding the plough a few arpents from the wharf where he landed, were killed by the Mohawks. A few days afterwards an innocent little child, within a gunshot of the fort, fell a victim to them, while the gunner firing the piece to give the alarm, was so injured by its explosion that he died. It would take too long, says the Jesuit narrator, to report all these attacks, pursuits and captures. The truth is, that the hundred and twenty inhabitants of the fort lived in perpetual dread and danger.

The Iroquois did not even despair of surprising Three Rivers. They reached the Saint Lawrence in small parties. Some few of them ascended to Montreal, to employ the attention of the troops there. Others hovered about Quebec to keep that garrison engaged.

The plan of attack was to place the main body in the forest north of the fort, at the same time to station some ten men in ambuscade in some maize fields in the neighbourhood, in order to seize such of the inhabitants, as in the morning came early to work. The plot was to carry these prisoners ostentatiously past the town; and at the same time several canoes, which had been placed there, should start from the opposite shore to cross the river, apparently to assist the canoes bearing away the prisoners. It was believed that this movement would bring the garrison to the water-side, and that many of them would embark in order to rescue the

prisoners by force, and that in the confusion which would arise, the main body would make a dash from the woods, and storm the fort on the land side, which it was anticipated would have been left undefended. It is not improbable that if the calculations on which the attack had been formed had been realized that the fort would have been in serious peril; if the attack had not resulted in the massacre of the entire population. The plot failed. The men did not go to the maize fields to work, and the Indians, wearied with waiting at the spot, left their ambush.

Early in August some Iroquois parties hovering round Quebec had seized Father Poncet, and, with another Frenchman, carried him away a prisoner. Pursuit was made, but without result, although traces of the missing men were found. Some of the party sent in pursuit, however, learning the danger to which the fort in Three Rivers had been exposed, proceeded thither to increase the strength of the garrison.

Foiled in their attempts and hearing, through a Huron woman of Three Rivers whose father had been incorporated into the Iroquois, that Three Rivers had been reinforced, that the tribe had been defeated at Montreal, and that five prisoners had been taken, one of them a chief, the Indians proposed terms of peace. There was no want of experience of Mohawk cunning and perfidy and some new treachery was looked for. The inhabitants of Three Rivers accordingly demanded that, as a proof of their sincerity, the Iroquois should release Father Poncet; but the tribe with whom the negotiations at Three Rivers were being conducted, declared themselves ignorant of his capture.

Poncet, with his companion, had been taken to the Mohawk, where he had undergone the usual severe treatment, of which he afterwards published a narrative. After four days' torture, he was given over to an old woman to replace her brother killed in the fight, and as he entered the wigwam, the song of death was chaunted over him; he knew, accordingly, that he was replacing a dead man. Finding an Algonquin female captive whose language he could speak, he was in comparative

ease. He was also treated kindly by those to whom he had been assigned and his wounds healed with rude Indian surgery. His companion was burnt.

While the Mohawk chiefs were debating the point of returning him to Three Rivers, in accordance with the request which the Iroquois there had made, Poncet was sent to Albany. Charitable people gave him a shirt and some dinner, in which were some apples which he had not seen for fifteen years. The Iroquois chief whom Poncet accompanied, was the bearer of a letter from de Lauson to the Dutch Governor, whom Poncet also saw, and who received him "coldly." By Poncet's account the Governor acted with brutality. He neither offered the priest shelter nor food, and Poncet was without clothes. Finally the father found refuge in the house of a Frenchman, with whom he stayed three days. He makes mention of an honest Scotchwoman who treated him with kindness, and of the appeals made to his religious offices by the faithful, from some of whom he obtained clothes. He returned to the Mohawk village ; there he received his breviary. At another village where he was taken, the proposals of peace were discussed. A series of feasts followed. It was finally arranged that Poncet should return to Three Rivers to conclude a peace. Three days afterwards he was informed that he was to proceed by land, not by way of Lake Champlain, for at that period of the year it was stormy and extremely dangerous when navigated by canoes.

He followed a trail across the country to arrive at the Saint Lawrence sixty leagues above Montreal. He left the Mohawk country on the 3rd October, and after nine days travel, they met an Indian, who informed the party that the captives in Three Rivers had been placed in irons, and that some had been executed. Nevertheless, the chief in charge agreed to proceed if Poncet would pledge himself to preserve their lives. It turned out that a drunken Algonquin had been seized and placed in custody.

I am dwelling on these matters with some minuteness, for Father Poncet was the first European who descended the

Saint Lawrence from Ogdensburg. At least we hear no mention of any such journey at an earlier date. De Galinée and La Salle ascended the river in 1669. Of Père le Moyne I will presently speak. The mission of the Bay of Quinté was established by the Sulpicians in 1666.

Poncet gives only an imperfect account of his route.* At the end of eight days they embarked on a river, on which they journeyed for two days, when they reached the Saint Lawrence about sixty leagues above Montreal. We have, however, the dates of his arrival and departure. He left the Hudson on the 4th October, and arrived at Montreal the 24th. He then tells us that as a prisoner he was taken by Lake Champlain, and returned by another direction, so that he passed over the two routes by which the Iroquois seek Canada. He adds that his guides were afraid of meeting the Algonquins, nevertheless, they amused themselves in hunting, game being abundant. Finally, he came down the Sault St. Louis. With statements so vague it is not easy to follow him; but the inference is justifiable that the party passed to the west of the Adirondacks, and that they descended the River Oswegatche to Ogdensburg. The distance from Montreal is about forty-five leagues. Considering the father's indifference to geography, and the distance having been made by canoes, the estimate of sixty leagues is not a bad approximation. There is no place which accords better with that which Poncet describes, the route passing over mountains, and crossing four large streams, one even of some width.

Poncet continued his journey to Three Rivers, thence to Quebec. Peace was made on the 5th November, the Iroquois presenting their gifts on that day. There was one cause which specially contributed to this peace. The Senecas and Cayugas, the western tribes of the Iroquois, were then at war with the Eries, the tribe established on the south and east of Lake Erie, reaching as far as the Genesee. From the number of wild cats found in the country, the Jesuits subsequently named them the "Chats." The Seneca branch of the Iroquois

* Relation, 1653, p. 17.

had by this time found their way to Montreal, and were desirous of participating in the trade.

I have spoken of a loan of 22,000 livres having been made by Madlle. Mance to M. de Maisonneuve. In the month of September the latter arrived in Quebec, bringing with him the reinforcement which by means of this money he had been enabled to recruit in Poitou, Maine and Bretagne. The necessities of M. de Lauson were such that he desired to retain the force in Quebec, to be applied to the general defence ; but de Maisonneuve was firm in asserting that they should proceed to Montreal : they had been specially collected by means of the funds of the Montreal Society, and that they ought to be assigned to the direct defence of the settlement. Madlle. Mance was in Quebec, having gone early in spring to meet de Maisonneuve. Her presence was fortunate, as she was able to receive Marguerite Bourgeois, founder of the Congregational nuns in Montreal, who had arrived with de Maisonneuve.

Marguerite Bourgeois was also from Champagne, having been born at Troyes. At that date she was thirty-five years of age, and had been President of a religious society of young women formed to encourage austerity of life. She had educated a younger brother and sister ; and by her conduct had obtained some notice in the Carmelite Convent of her native city. She had felt that she was called upon to devote herself to a religious life in Canada, and, in spite of all opposition, had persevered in her purpose. The objections had been overcome and she had accompanied de Maisonneuve to New France.

Refusing all offers to remain with the Ursulines at Quebec, she proceeded to Montreal. At this date there were no children. Those who had been born had mostly died.* The

* According to a note of M. Jaques Viger to the History of Dollier de Casson, the first marriage in Montreal took place in 1647. At the close of 1653, ten marriages had taken place in the settlement. In 1654, after the arrival of the troops, fourteen marriages are registered. The first child of European descent was born 24th November, 1648. Barbe le Mounier. Montreal Edition, p. 104.

Sœur Bourgeois was, however, provided with a home. The house had been a stable. In this humble building she commenced her teaching as necessity exacted.

If the Hurons had but poorly defended their own country, they proved of some avail by the side of the French, and the Iroquois made every attempt to detach them from the alliance. The Onondagas particularly desired to recruit their strength by incorporating into their tribe what remained of the Hurons near Quebec. The Hurons were embarrassed. They neither desired to abandon the French, nor to cause feelings of enmity by a refusal of the request. Accordingly, with the consent of the Governor, they advised the Onondagas to apply for a Jesuit mission to be established, and they promised to accompany the Father, who should proceed thither. The suggestion was adopted, and an application was made by the Onondagas for a priest to be sent to their villages.

Père Simon le Moyne was selected for this dangerous position. He had joined the Huron missions in 1638, and with the unfortunate Father Daniel had proceeded to the Arendarhonous in 1640. The following year he was at the Saint Joseph mission, where, in company with Garnier, he administered the religious services. We do not again hear of him until selected for this duty. His journey was in every way remarkable. It was the commencement of that influence which the French obtained over the Iroquois, eventually to wean them from an alliance with Albany; and, moreover, it was the foundation of the experience which led them so successfully to deal with the Indian races of the West. Everything in connection with French intercourse with the Indian was of a character favourably to impress them. The ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion directly appeal to that imaginative tone of thought, more readily awakened with men who hold close and immediate relationship with nature. There is an elevation of sentiment which instinctively springs from constant communion with the forest, to work on our best feelings, and to render us the more accessible to good influences: impulses which were aided by the unselfish devotion of

the missionaries, and as time advanced, the lives of these men became better to be appreciated, and they were thus enabled more strongly to impress those, in whose service their devotion was exercised. Moreover, the geographical character of Canada, interspersed with rivers which admitted of great distances being accomplished without difficulty, gave rise with the French to a spirit of adventure, which the Indian could not fail to recognise and which attracted his sympathy.

The British Americans in the first years of occupation, confined to the east by rugged mountains, soon made the tribes within this limit subject to their influence. When they crossed the mountains, with labour and privation, they found the French established in localities which had been reached by them in comfort and ease. In the northern territory accessible to them, the tribes together with the Abenakis had been encouraged by the French, to be the deadly enemy of all that was foreign to Canada.

The policy which marked the conduct of the French, and was so successfully exercised on the Ohio, the Illinois and the Mississippi may be traced in its infancy to the mission of Père le Moyne, and to the tact and judgment which he shewed on the occasion.

Père le Moyne was the first known white man who ascended the St. Lawrence. Lake Ontario had been early known. Traversed by Champlain in 1608, it was recognized by him as the waters of the Saint Lawrence. In 1635 it is spoken of as the Lac des Iroquois, as the shortest route to the Huron country, but objectionable owing to the presence of enemies, and the few advantages presented in its ascent. In 1641 the Niagara River [the Onguaahra] is named as discharging into Lake Ontario or St. Louys. In 1646 Lake Ontario is mentioned as one of the routes by which the Onondagas could be reached, by the mission of the unfortunate Père Jogues. In 1648, in the descriptive geography of the Jesuits it is named as Lake Louys or Ontario. Later, La Salle endeavoured to apply to it the title of Lake Frontenac, but the above facts shew the early claim of precedence of its

present name ; the meaning of which has been stated to be 'Fine Lake.'*

As Father Poncet first descended the river in 1653, so Père le Moyne was the first to ascend it in 1654. He has given us a short diary of his proceedings. He left Montreal on the 17th July, and, as I read the account, ascended the Rapids of the Cascades, Cedars and the Coteau, to reach Lake Saint Francis on the 19th. He continued his route on the 20th and 21st, on which day some injury to his canoe led to a halt. On the 23rd and 27th there was another halt, owing to the illness of the pilot, shewing how the route was unknown, when the father suffered from mosquitoes, for which there was no remedy but patience. On the 25th he ascended the rapids to gain the reach from below Prescott to the Thousand Islands, named by him Lake St. Ignace. On the 26th he made four leagues ; on the 27th some further distance was gone over ; on the 28th owing to a storm the canoe was hauled ashore, and on the 29th he reached Lake Ontario.

I cannot agree with those who have identified Lake St. Ignace with Lake Saint Francis. The distance from Montreal by the Lachine Rapids to this lake is forty-three miles. It is not reasonable to suppose, that six days were taken to reach these waters, while three days were only necessary to travel over the remaining one hundred and forty-six miles. Indeed in his diary of the 5th September, le Moyne tells us that he descended in one day what took him two long days to ascend, owing to rapids and rocks. Moreover, the shores of Lake Saint Francis are flat ; while the description given by le Moyne agrees with that of the country on the north shore between Prescott and Brockville. The Saint Lawrence is crowded with islands from Cornwall to Wright's Point, four miles east of Prescott, at which place the wide, open water begins, to continue for seventeen miles, to the Thousand Islands. From the wide extent of the unobstructed river, then in its solitude, with

* "Ontario est simplement une corruption de 'Onitariio,' BEAU lac." Etudes Philologiques sur quelques langues sauvages de l'Amérique par N. O. Montreal, 1886, p. 17.

its banks covered by ancient trees luxurious in lofty foliage, the sheet of water must have appeared to le Moyne most striking. In a country with limited water communication it would be honoured with respectful geographical mention. In Canada it is lost sight of in the magnitude of Lake Ontario. Would it be an unwise proceeding to apply in modern times, this term St. Ignace to this extent of the Saint Lawrence, as a memorial of the first appearance of a white man on the waters above Ogdensburg.

Père le Moyne proceeded along the shores of Lake Ontario. He estimated its extent less than it really is. He was correct as to its breadth. He must have crossed at the eastern end, coasting by the islands. He named the length at forty leagues; whereas it is one hundred and ninety miles long. He tells us "we call it the lake of the Iroquois, as those tribes have their bourgades on the southern shore." He landed on the 1st August. On the 2nd they marched twelve to fifteen leagues and reached the village of the Onondagas. He was well received. He met several of the Huron Christians incorporated into the tribe. His first effort was given to the establishment of peaceful relations. His negotiations were so successful that he received from the chiefs an invitation for some French settlers to proceed thither and establish a village; an arrangement which he engaged himself to recommend to the Governor. On the 15th he took his departure. On the 16th he passed a lake, when his attention was attracted by some Salt Springs, a locality which to-day is the source of so much wealth known as Salina. From the water he there obtained, he himself manufactured salt as satisfactorily as from the sea. He passed down the river to Oswego, subsequently known by the French as Chouegan, to be the scene of so many struggles a century later. Lake Ontario was rough from the high wind, but the party coasted its shore, passing a place pointed out to him as destined for French settlement: possibly Sacket's Harbour. He landed at Lachine on the 6th September, shewing that at this date the ascent of the Saint Louis rapids had been abandoned and that

Lachine was the starting point to proceed westward from Montréal.

The visit became known to the Mohawks and caused jealousy, so much so that a deputation proceeded to Quebec, to complain of the disrespect shewn to their tribe by the proceeding. M. de Lauson, always pliant, never facing danger, never equal to an emergency, passed the complaint by for a time, and assured them that the visit should be extended to them. It was, however, too late for le Moyne to be communicated with; he had already proceeded some distance homewards.

On his return, Père le Moyne was eloquent on the beauty of the country. He related his promise that a settlement should be made there. It seems scarcely credible that de Lauson should have consented to send thirty of his small force from Quebec, where every man was required, at a time when it was most necessary that French power should be indisputably affirmed there. The population of the whole of Canada was then 2,000. Three Rivers had narrowly escaped destruction. Montreal lived daily in dread of attack. The Hurons around Quebec were threatened with extermination. That de Lauson should have consented to extend his operations and weaken his force, shews his utter incapacity, and his failure to understand the crisis.

It may be urged that refusal to comply with the request of the Onondagas would have converted them into active enemies. It is in an emergency of this character when the possession of great powers makes itself felt. To maintain respect with the savage, be he friend or foe, the first element is the power to exact it. Even in modern times, the safest reliance of a people is the force to resent wrong when sustained by the national feeling which disdains to submit to it.

Nominally, peace had prevailed for some months. No one with experience of the past could have faith in its continuance. There was no promise of fresh aid from France, and in spite of these multiplied causes why de Lauson's force should be concentrated, he consented to scatter and weaken it

Père le Moyne ascended the river to Montreal to make arrangements for the party to proceed to Lake Ontario from Montreal. He was attacked by the Iroquois, and one of the two Onondaga chiefs who were with him, was killed. As usual, the attack was explained away ; it was not directed against the French : it was the Hurons only, against whom enmity was felt. The outrage was attributed to a Mohawk half-breed, the Bâtard Flamand, the son of a Dutch father, an unscrupulous, cunning savage, who appears on occasions in this history.

Peace had indeed no existence in fact. The Mohawks continued their attacks on the Hurons, so much so, that in 1655, it had been determined to build a fort at Sillery, in order to give them protection. It was superintended by Brother Liegois. One morning, as he was proceeding to the woods, he was met by a party of Iroquois, who shot him and then cut off his head. They then went twelve leagues below Quebec to the Ile aux Oies. Entering the house of a resident, they killed the owner and his wife and carried off the children ; they also seized those of a neighbouring family. At the same time attacks were made against Three Rivers and Montreal.

The news of the attack of the Ile aux Oies created great feeling in Montreal, and on a party of Iroquois appearing with some proposition, six of them were seized. An Iroquois chief, bearing the imposing title of ‘La Grande Armée,’ now appeared and offered an exchange of prisoners, and that peace should be made. The terms were accepted ; the children were restored and peace lasted for a year. During this time Montreal made some progress. But this humiliating condition was added, shewing how powerless the state into which the French in Canada had fallen : that the peace with the Hurons and Algonquins would only be observed so long as they did not advance above Three Rivers. If they did so, they made themselves liable to attack.

Readers of this history cannot but feel the cruel abandonment of the few hundred French in these dangers. No

assistance worthy the name was given by France. The Company were without the means to furnish aid. It is not recorded that any determination was shewn in claiming the attention of the Government to the condition of the settler. Eventually, it resolved itself into that course from the desperation of the Colonists ; and it was only owing to their own resolute courage that they were not swept from the positions which they held.

CHAPTER VII.

Père le Moyne did not return to Onondaga. It was considered advisable that, in accordance with the desire of the Mohawks, that he should proceed to their villages to conclude the peace and obtain the return of the prisoners held there. His reception was satisfactory ; presents were exchanged and nothing was omitted to insure a continuance of friendly relations. When on the Hudson he visited Albany where personally he was well received. He, however, found matters unsettled with the Dutch. There had been a difficulty at New York, then Manhattan : some Indians had been killed in a quarrel. The latter, accordingly, assembled in large numbers, burnt several farms and killed and carried off into captivity their inmates. Eventually with his two French companions, he returned in safety to Quebec. He had a narrow escape at the Mohawk village ; his life was threatened by an Indian professing to be possessed by the devil ; but a woman present suggested that a dog should be the instrument of inspiration, so the poor brute received the fatal blow.

The deputation of the Onondagas arrived. They asked for missionaries and that a French settlement should be commenced ; and they concluded peace equally with the Indians friendly to the French as with the French themselves. Pères Chaumonat and Dablon were deputed to return with them. Pierre Joseph Morice Chaumonat arrived from France in 1639 or 1640. He had proceeded in 1640 to the Huron country to the Bear tribe. He had there assisted de Breboœuf in his completion of the Huron dictionary. Possessing natural eloquence, he had obtained the power of expressing himself in the Indian language to surprise the orator of the tribe. He had mastered all the tropes and figurative forms of phrase in which the savage delights and employs to give force to his views. Claude

Dablon is known to us as the author of the Relations of 1671–1672. He was a musician, and as many priests, was enthusiastic in this respect. Joined to this accomplishment, his powers in influencing his hearers on more serious matters were acknowledged. Both were received with great consideration.

The Onondagas were then at war with the Eries. A chief had been burned by the latter under circumstances which created horror, even to the Indian mind. The sufferer, an influential chief, had been given to an Erie woman to supply the loss of her brother, killed in a skirmish. This female fury would listen to no voice but that of revenge. She would receive no satisfaction. The chief was burned. As he stood in the fire, he exclaimed, “Eries, you burn in me an entire race.” A warning how his fate would be avenged in their own destruction.

As the Indian code dictated, twelve hundred warriors rushed to the west of the Genesee to obtain satisfaction for the wrong. It became a war of extermination. The Eries were destroyed. When the fathers arrived among the Onondagas, detached parties were out engaged in completing this universal massacre. Some few of the Eries escaped, but as a tribe they ceased to exist.

The lives of the fathers were not tranquil amid the new associations. Reports unfavourable to them were circulated. They were personally accused of falsehood, and at the same time it was stated that the Iroquois on the Saint Lawrence were being persecuted. Accordingly, it was proposed that a party should proceed to Quebec to inquire into the proof of this report, and that one of the fathers should accompany it. Père Dablon was selected. He and his guides started in March to proceed to Quebec; a period when the snow is beginning to disappear, and when travel is arduous and attended with danger. The suffering of Dablon may be conceived. The great secret of meeting a Canadian winter is to dress in accordance with its rigours and exactions. The Jesuit Fathers were never well clad; on this occasion Dablon was no exception. There is no doubt that Dablon also car-

ried some musical instrument with him, and that often, however wearied and fatigued, he had to pipe to the savages to keep them in good humour. As they found on their arrival that the reports were groundless, the application was renewed for the French to commence the settlement which had been asked for. The request was granted.

The expedition started. The leader was Dupuy, then in command of the fort at Quebec. The men consisted of volunteers, who marched away cheerfully ; but there must have been few who did not know the danger they were incurring. It was a desperate proceeding under every point of view. The project shortly became known to the Mohawks, who looked upon it with disfavour ; and they determined, if possible, to prevent its execution. A considerable force placed themselves in ambush half way between Quebec and Three Rivers, and as the expedition was proceeding up the river, at Point au Platon, they attacked the rear canoes, killed several of those conducting them, and pillaged all the property they could lay their hands on. The deed committed, some of the chiefs understood its serious character. It was not simply the outrage upon the French to be considered ; but the Onondagas were a tribe of their own organization, and the act was one of civil war. They took immediate steps to explain away the proceeding. They declared that the attack had been made only against the Hurons ; and the satisfaction, such as it was, had to be accepted.

Dupuy's party arrived at the mouth of the Oswego on the 7th July, 1656. There had been a deficiency in provisions. The Indians had exercised no prudence in their use. Fish and game had not been easily taken. There had been, accordingly, some suffering from want of food, particularly trying to the French, unaccustomed to long fasts. In this emergency they had sent a courier to obtain supplies, which were found available at the mouth of the Oswego.

No time was lost in proceeding to Gannentaha : from the description of the Salt Springs, identified as Lake Onondaga. An eminence overlooking it was chosen, and buildings were

constructed. It was the first attempt at settlement in the interior of the continent above Montreal, not doomed to be of long duration ; for it scarcely lasted two years. It started under fair auspices, for one of the first results was, to quiet the differences between the Onondagas and Mohawks, which at one time threatened to be serious.

The Mohawks who had attacked the ascending expedition near Point au Platon, after making their explanations that the onslaught had been dictated by error, remembered that there was a death to avenge on the Island of Orleans. Some time previously two Iroquois had stealthily reached the shore and placed themselves in ambush. Two Hurons, ignorant of their presence, were approaching the river when one was shot dead. He was a young man, the son of a chief, of some promise, who had distinguished himself in several skirmishes, who, moreover, had released prisoners taken by him. His death created great feeling ; consequently, a party started in pursuit of his murderers, one of whom was taken and burnt.

It was this death the Iroquois had to avenge. The Island of Orleans is less than fifty miles from Point au Platon. Although the Hurons felt anything but secure with regard to their position, they were careless in establishing guards, and neglected to carry their arms with them. On this occasion they were both surprised and unarmed. They had just left the church, and were going to work in their fields, when the Iroquois rushed upon them, massacring those who resisted. Sixty prisoners were carried off. The matter did not end here. The Mohawks ranged their canoes in order of battle, and in mid-day passed before the fort of Quebec, singing the song of victory. It was the first occasion that the French received such an insult or such defiance of their power. There were those in the garrison who were desirous of rushing out and of attacking the force at all risks. De Lauson was not the man to listen to such a proposal.

The folly of embarking in the Onondaga venture was now apparent. The men sent on that expedition were hostages furnished by himself to control his own proceedings. Any

attack of the Iroquois short of absolute defeat, would have led to reprisals. The absence of the Onondaga detachment had lessened de Lauson's power to take the offensive: but be the consequence what it might, there was every call for resolution and effort. The Huron women and girls carried off beneath the fort, amid the shouts and jeers of their conquerors, were allies of the French. They were under the protection of the King of France, and it was an ignominious sacrifice of the national honour to make no effort to rescue them. History is full of examples, when men sustained by a sentiment of duty, have overcome apparently insuperable obstacles. Sustained by a lofty courage, and looking to a failure to keep the honour of their country untarnished, as worse than a thousand deaths, they have succeeded in the face of every probability. M. de Lauson had no such elevation of feeling.

What added to this arrogance, was the declaration of the Iroquois, that they had no grievance against the French, but were simply pursuing their ancient enemy the Huron; contemptuously shewing the French that their protection was held at naught, and that the opportunity was only wanting to strike the protectors as the protected.

Before the autumn closed, another French priest had been killed, Père Garreau. Two years previously some French adventurers had wandered among the tribes in the neighbourhood of Michillimakinac, and the shores of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior. They there had met an Algonquin tribe similar to that in Eastern Canada. The name of Ottawas* was given to them to distinguish them from the tribe at Tadousac. They were gathered round Sault St. Mary at the discharge of Lake Superior and at the Point (La Pointe), the modern Bayfield, on the south shore of that lake; also in Green Bay in Lake Michigan. In a few years there were missions at all these places. The adventurers who had visited them, were the means of piloting fifty canoes laden with beaver to Quebec. The tribes were cordially welcomed. They had been predisposed to Christianity, and now they applied

* Relation 1670, p. 78.

for missionaries to return with them. Fathers Druillètes and Garreau were selected, and were accompanied by some young Frenchmen. There was a want of accommodation in the canoes, so the departure of their attendants was delayed until the following year. The Jesuits, however, left in the canoes then starting. The Ottawas were warned that they might be attacked. They had just obtained fire-arms, and felt a childish pleasure in hearing the report of their discharge repeated in the echo. From time to time they fired off their guns. A number of Iroquois were hovering about the Saint Lawrence, and were by these means informed of the passage of the canoes, which they determined to intercept. They proceeded up the Ottawa and placed themselves in ambush. As the ascending canoes advanced, in no way anticipating an attack, they received the Iroquois fire. Several were killed. Father Garreau received a wound in the spine. There was a feeble attempt of the Ottawas to attack the Iroquois entrenchment, but it was soon abandoned, the Ottawas decamping in the night, leaving behind the Jesuits and the three Frenchmen who had accompanied them.

The Iroquois carried them to Montreal and expressed great sorrow for what had happened. Père Garreau lived but a few days. He was highly esteemed. He had arrived in Canada in 1643 and proceeded to the Huron mission in 1644. He was afterwards at the Nipissing mission, where he was taken ill and had returned to Quebec. He was then subsequently detailed to the Island of Orleans. He was remarkable, even in his order, for his implicit obedience to his superiors. His unfailing devotion to the duties of his mission, and the personal estimation in which he was held, caused his death to be much felt.

M. de Lauson had now been five years in Canada. In 1657 he would have served two terms. Moreover, he was seventy-three years of age, so he determined to anticipate the close of the period and return to France. His name is held in no respect. Intent on personal acquisitions he lived with little dignity. He created some ill feeling by the establishment of

a depot of trade at Tadousac for his special operations, to which the inhabitants were refused access ; the profits of which were devoted to the expenses of government. The fact shews the narrow and insufficient means on which the affairs of the country were conducted. The Governor and the garrisons, were to be paid their allowances or they could not live. The Jesuits and the nuns, were each to receive some stipend ; but there was no provision to meet the outlay. It had all to be gathered from the profits on the trade. Montreal was a totally different organization, dependent upon its own Company which did not rely on trading for its sustenance. But Quebec and Three Rivers had to be supported in this form. There can be no surprise at the insufficiency of the force and the passive character of the Executive. Money was wanting for the simplest requirement.

M. de Lauson left his son, de Charny, as administrator of affairs. He had married a daughter of Giffard, the Seigneur of Beauport, and, accordingly, was directly interested in the country. The first question he had to meet was the demand of the Mohawks, that the Hurons in the neighbourhood of Quebec should proceed to the Mohawk villages to be incorporated in their tribe. That of the Bear only consented to leave. Père le Moyne was the intermediary in this case, and, when the departure was determined upon, accompanied the Huron families, who reluctantly left their present homes. The Onondagas now appeared to claim a similar incorporation. A hundred warriors arrived at Quebec to enforce the demand. It was finally conceded. French canoes carried the Hurons to Montreal, where they were received by the Onondagas who were to ascend the Saint Lawrence in their own canoes. Père Ragueneau accompanied them.

It was not long before the voyage was marked by outrage. A Huron woman attracted the attention of an Onondaga chief. She repelled his advances. With his tomahawk he struck her down where she stood. A melée ensued ; seven of the Hurons who were unarmed, were killed before their wives and children. The Jesuit was unable to stop the butchery, so

it ran its course. There were at this time Onondagas at Quebec ; had such not been the case, it is possible that Père Ragueneau would have paid the penalty of his interference and also have been killed.

M. de Charny, leaving for France, delegated his powers to M. d'Ailleboust, the Governor previous to M. de Lauson. The appointment was regarded as a matter of a few weeks. It continued nearly for a year ; M. d'Argenson not arriving until July, 1658. A series of storms drove the vessel bringing the new Governor on the Coast of Ireland, and the season was so far advanced that it returned to France. M. de Maisonneuve however arrived. He was accompanied by some ecclesiastics from the Seminary of St. Sulpice. Quiet and undisturbed as everything appeared on their arrival, their presence was the cause of future difficulty and ill-feeling. They consisted of the Abbé de Queylus, M. Galinier, M. Souart, and M. D'Allet, all Sulpicians. Hitherto the religious ministrations of the country had been performed by the Jesuits at Montreal as elsewhere. Indeed, they were the only priests in the country as the Recollets had been pertinaciously refused permission to return to Canada. It had been one of the leading motives of M. Olier to connect the religious services of Montreal and of its missions with the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Paris, which he had lately established ; and the presence of these ecclesiastics was in the view of carrying out this principle. Their transfer to Montreal was almost the last act of M. Olier's life : indeed, he died before they left the shores of France.

M. Gabriel de Queylus had acted as a missionary among the peasantry of the Vivarais and the Ardèche, east of the Rhone, then the seat of a Protestantism eventually to be extinguished by steel and the cord. It is among the most picturesque parts of France. The days of persecution had not yet come. M. de Queylus had attracted attention by his earnest preaching and teaching. His career under these difficult circumstances had doubtless suggested him as a fit person to proceed to Canada. The Church there required a

head, and de Queylus had been selected to fill that position. The colony had been held to appertain to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Rouen. It was from him that the Jesuits had received authority to act ; the Superior of the Jesuits being the Archbishop's Grand Vicar, and it was from the same authority that the powers conferred on M. de Queylus were obtained. He appeared in Canada as the Grand Vicar of the Archbishop.

The intention of these ecclesiastics was to proceed directly to Montreal ; but at the Island of Orleans they were met by the Père de Quen, Superior of the Jesuits, and M. d'Ailleboust, who begged of them to visit Quebec. The visit was made, during which M. de Queylus was requested likewise to accept the direction of ecclesiastical matters at that place ; such arrangement being considered advisable. Accordingly M. de Queylus, after proceeding to Montreal and installing his companions in their charge, returned to Quebec as the acknowledged head of the church in Canada. The Curé of Quebec, M. Poncet, so recognized him ; and at this time, Quebec became the residence of the Archbishop's Grand Vicar.

The particulars are not given of the death of three Frenchmen at this date, at Point St. Charles, near Montreal. It took place in October in 1657. Whether the result of a quarrel, or a wanton, unprovoked attack is not known. But it occurred during the peace, and had the effect of again awakening the French to caution. There must have been some treachery in the proceeding, for d'Ailleboust then administering the government, gave instructions that every Iroquois approaching the settlements should be seized. In a short time twelve Mohawks had been arrested. Two of them were sent to their bourgade to relate the massacre at Point St. Charles, and the other arrests made in requital, so that some firm guarantee of peace could be obtained. As was looked for, three Mohawk envoys arrived in January, 1659, to obtain the release of the prisoners.

During this period the fifty Frenchmen at Lake Onondaga

were running no little risk, for their presence had created an enmity which daily became more threatening. Civilization side by side with barbarism has one safeguard: the possession of strength to enforce respect. In this view the small body of men in the heart of the tribe could not claim great consideration. The ill-feeling, which had increased against them, doubtless sprang from many compound influences. We may, however, ask ourselves if jealousy played any part in it, and if the Onondagas may not have felt that the presence of the garrison was a source of trial and mischief. We have not the history of the circumstances which led to the determination to destroy the French. The Commander, Dupuy, was a man of resolute courage, and was not one to be led away by mere reports. It must be supposed that he only acted under the pressure of circumstances which he could not control.

The policy of the Onondagas was first to obtain the release of the prisoners at Montreal; if it could not be obtained, it was their intention to destroy the greater portion of the French present, saving only the lives of a few to be kept as hostages. The plot was revealed to the French, and further, that the destruction of the Onondaga settlement was to be followed by an attack of the united five nations, first against the Christian Indians, and afterwards that a war of extermination should be carried on against the French.

The French escaped by stratagem. In secret they constructed flat bottomed boats. A feast was given, in which eating, and possibly drinking, was encouraged to excess. The revel was prolonged until the Indians fell asleep or were intoxicated. The preparations of the French in these desperate circumstances were complete. As the Indians after their indulgence were lying in their lethargic sleep, the boats were launched, and the descent of the Oswego commenced, a distance of thirty-eight miles before Lake Ontario could be reached. They gained the great lake before their purpose was discovered. In descending the lower rapids of the Saint Lawrence three men were drowned, I have no doubt at the "Cedars," the descent of which calls for experienced pilots, or

men of special aptitude to make such descents. The story is told with some romantic details by the Mère de l'Incarnation, and in the Jesuit Relations.

However our skepticism may be awakened by the narrative as it is given, it is certain that Dupuy arrived at Montreal on the 3rd April with fifty Frenchmen.* The character of Dupuy suggests that he was not a man to abandon the post without cause. There is no recorded reason, except that he looked for an attack by overpowering numbers. With a scarcity of provisions, however gallant the defence, it could not have been prolonged. Starvation must have enforced, either surrender for the whole to have been slaughtered ; or the stern resolve to sell their lives dearly to the last man. There was not the slightest hope of relief. There was but one course open to Dupuy, to leave the settlement and to carry his command safely back to Quebec. The very season told in his favour, for so bold a step could not have been looked for in March, when the rivers are still frozen, and when the navigation of the Saint Lawrence, above Montreal, to this day is a matter of risk and danger. The season had much to do in preventing pursuit ; for, owing to the ice, the stream could not be navigated in bark canoes. It was here that the flat-bottom boats were necessary. The ice on the Oswego had more or less to be broken, and the boats forced through it. Any bark canoes which immediately followed could, at the time, do so without risk. A few hours at this season make all possible difference in the navigation. As the Onondagas made no attempt at pursuit, we may infer that they felt that their canoes could not resist the ice. It is not improbable that the attempt was made and had to be abandoned. The journey by land to Lake Ontario was possible enough, but without canoes to navigate the Lakes, the pursuing party would be powerless to follow ; no pursuit was made.

That the retreat was successfully effected tells wonderfully for the sagacity which conceived it, and the discipline with which it was carried out. The event must be named as one

* Dollier de Casson, 1657-58. p. 129.

of the extraordinary feats of that day. The simple narrative of what was effected requires no melodramatic incidents to give it strength. Especially when we consider the distances passed over. From Lake Onondaga to Lake Ontario, to Kingston, and thence to Montreal, is 210 miles, and the journey was made in March on the breaking up of the ice. It stands apart in the history of those troublous times. Dupuy was received coldly at Quebec. The failure of the expedition was attributed to him. He is afterwards found holding a prominent position in Montreal, and on de Maisonneuve's retirement, for a short time performed the duties of Acting Governor.

The last act of M. d'Ailleboust's administration was to receive a Mohawk deputation to claim the release of prisoners. Fortunately for Père le Moyne, hostages for his safety were in French hands; but he had felt his position to be so insecure that he had visited Orange in the hope of reaching Quebec by sea. As it was designed to send a deputation to Quebec, he was called upon to accompany it. The request for the liberation of the prisoners was only partially granted, some of them were held back. They formed, however, but a slight guarantee for the individual safety of the French colonist. The peace obtained, was in truth merely nominal. No spot could be accepted as safe, and the unfortunate remnant of the Hurons abandoned the Island of Orleans, to erect their wigwams in the neighbourhood of Fort Saint Louis at Quebec, in the hope that beneath its walls they would certainly be safe from attack.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Vicomte d'Argenson, the new Governor, arrived the 11th July, 1658. Born in 1626, he was thirty-one when he assumed office. He had served with distinction in the royal army, and now hoped for quiet days in Canada, with its small population and struggling fortunes. He had been bred in the intolerance which marked the extreme Catholic party in France, and looking with disfavour on the Huguenot, he was in no way prepared to encourage his presence, whatever promise it might give of enterprise and prosperity. On the other hand, he was not prepared to sacrifice his own position to any ecclesiastical claim of superiority. He had a rude experience on the day after his arrival. A Montagnais woman was killed by the Iroquois in the fields near the fort. D'Argenson turned out his force in pursuit, but the assailants gained the forest.

After the Governor had been a fortnight in the country he was invited to a fête given by the Jesuits. It commenced with dinner which was succeeded by vespers and followed by a masque, composed by one of the fathers, and acted by the boys of the school. It represented New France and the Indian races doing homage to the Mother country in the person of d'Argenson.* Several of the friendly Indians were at this date present in Quebec. After receiving their homage, d'Argenson gave them a feast. He shewed himself prepared to carry out his duties with vigour. But, like all the Governors of this time, he had neither men nor money to meet the emergency. He perfectly understood that the exercise of force and vigour was called for, and with what troops were at

* The Jesuit Relations remark that their College was not as well attended as that of Paris. Likewise that Rome was not so great under Romulus as under Julius Cæsar. But, small as the College was, it received the Governor in three languages, which pleased him greatly.

his disposal he acted with judgment and energy, avoiding all operations where an ambuscade might be looked for. If d'Argenson attained no special result, he taught the Iroquois that they could not be openly defiant and insolent.

The Iroquois had one policy ever at their command. When matters went adverse to them, they presented themselves as envoys seeking peace, or the release of prisoners, or the establishment of a mission. In one of these pretended negotiations, some Indians presented themselves at the Three Rivers fort. They were recognized as belonging to the band which a few days previously had attacked a party of French, who, not expecting any assault, were outside the fort entirely off their guard. One of the number who had escaped identified them as the aggressors. The Governor, M. de La Potherie, arrested them, and sent them as prisoners to Quebec. On their arrival, one of them was proved to be 'la Grande Cuiller' [Big Spoon] known as an enterprising Mohawk chief. The efforts for the release of these prisoners now became earnest. Deputations arrived ; their strong protestations of sincerity, joined to their solemn promise to be true to their engagement, led the Governor to accede to their request for the release of the prisoners. Made with a parade of friendliness and good faith, a few months proved these assurances to be as hollow and false as the previous pledges of the tribe.

Events were now shaping themselves for the creation of another source of difficulty in this thinly-peopled, ill-protected country : the claim of ecclesiastical pre-eminence above the civil power. Such disputes have arisen in all countries, in all periods, and in all forms of church government. Generally, however, they have come into prominence in the hour of prosperity and good fortune. The condition of Canada could not well be worse. Montreal, in addition to its difficulties of geographical position, and the necessity of constant watchfulness, had suffered a few years previously by the loss of the money placed in the hands of de la Dauversière. He was bankrupt.* There was so much to exact the attention of men

* 'Fait banqueroute' is the pithy phrase of Abbé de Belmont.

of all conditions, in order to preserve life, and to obtain the means of living, that few could have expected the peace of the community to be further strained by such a controversy. But where will religious zeal not penetrate?

The establishment of Montreal did not escape censure in Paris, as we know by a remarkable pamphlet* published a few months after its foundation. The first portion of this work is given to the consideration of the religious duty which led the projectors to undertake the enterprise. It is succeeded by an elaborate reply to the arguments directed against it. Whatever opinion may be entertained of the impolicy of attempting the foundation of a new city, many days travel distant from the centre, which in the hour of trial could furnish aid and comfort; whatever the impression of the absence of forethought and practical wisdom, which failed to understand the requirements of the undertaking, justice must be rendered to the disinterested religious zeal by which its promoters were actuated. It was felt that an attempt at settlement should be made unconnected with the trade motives of the Company, and which should have primarily in view the conversion of the Indians; according to the belief on which such an attempt was based, to save their souls from inevitable future punishment. If we fail to bear this view in mind, we are unjust to the spirit which actuated the founders. Even with the knowledge of the disasters which followed for a quarter of a century, this feeling must exact our admiration. It was based on an unfaltering trust that the mission would be protected by heaven. In France, great personal sacrifices were made to carry out this object. Those who risked their lives in the cause were looked upon as acting up to the higher

* "Les Véritables Motifs de Messieurs et Dames de la Société de Nostre Dame de Montréal pour la conversion des Sauvages de la Nouvelle France": published by the Historical Society of Montreal in 1880. It is of extreme rarity; M. l'Abbé Verréault, the Editor, has never seen its title but once in a catalogue, and then it was valued at 800 francs. It consists of 127 pp. It appeared, without name of place or author, in 1643. The Abbé assigns the authorship to M. Olier, from the style, the tone of argument, and the utter absence of his own name, the omission of which by any other writer, would have been unjust and absurd.

obligation of Christian duty, and such as suffered would be regarded as its martyrs. It was to sustain this view that the greater part of the pamphlet was written.

The objections replied to were: That many who were taking part in the scheme were trading upon the reputation of their good works. That the project was marked by the want of prudence and could only be carried on by the royal support. That there were so many poor in France that it was better to relieve the necessities at home, in place of seeking out foreigners in an unknown country. That seeing that the Indians had never been taught Christianity they would be saved by acting in accordance with the natural teaching they had received. That it was inadvisable to take the bread out of the mouths of the French poor and their children, to send it to unbelievers who lived like dogs, and whom it was not possible to convert. That the Jesuits, sustained by large contributions, were doing all that was possible in Canada. That the Indians were idle, disinclined to labour, as experience had established. That the Island of Montreal was exposed to the attacks of the Iroquois, who had driven all the other Indians from the Saint Lawrence, and were constantly attacking the French. That the climate of Canada was so severe, being surrounded by a frozen sea, that those who were in the country had for subsistence only that which was sent them from France. That the days of miracles were past, and that the missions of America were being carried on in a more temperate country, where cold was never felt. The great difficulty of the Iroquois attacks likewise urged was the only important point calling for reply, and it was entirely misunderstood by the writer of the "Veritables Motifs."

It was easy to answer, that it was often necessary to make acts of charity known; and that if publicity were a crime many would be deterred from giving; that the charity shewn to the Indians in New France took little or nothing from the relief of the poor in the mother country; that no morality could exist without the inculcation of its principles; that the operations of the society did not interfere with the Jesuits.

But the promise of economy in disposing of the money obtained, did not meet the argument of its insufficiency to carry on the enterprise. There was an entire failure to understand the enmity and power of the Iroquois. The writer declared that these constant, watchful enemies were the friends of Frenchmen, and that nothing was to be feared from them. A statement so utterly at variance with the facts, and yet so confidently advanced, that it must be accepted as the writer's belief.

It was this Indian hostility acting on the principle, that every Frenchman killed was an enemy the less, which made the post one of such danger. The resources of the Society, liberally as they had been subscribed, were insufficient to obtain protection in the hour of trial. For the danger remained so long as the Iroquois power was unbroken.

M. d'Argenson had brought with him letters from the Archbishop of Rouen, directing that the Superior of the Jesuits should hereafter preside at Quebec and that M. de Queylus should govern the Church in Montreal. Madlle. Mance had conducted the hospital with what aid she could command. Suffering from an injury to her arm she was about to return to France to obtain medical aid.* M. de Queylus, during his stay in Quebec, had formed a favourable opinion of the Hospital nuns. Considering it impolitic to multiply the religious orders among two thousand straggling settlers, he deemed it advisable to send two of them to Montreal, in the hope that they would be welcomed by Madlle. Mance, and that as she was temporarily leaving Canada, she would place the management of the hospital in their hands. This course did not accord with Montreal feeling nor with the principles on which the settlement had been made. The nuns were received with cold politeness. The hospital was not placed in their charge during the absence of Mdlle. Mance, who, accompanied by Sœur Bourgeois, left for France. One of the

* She came back perfectly cured. Dollier de Casson gives a full account of the miracle of her recovery, effected by the application of the casket containing the heart of M. Olier to the paralysed arm. [pp. 74-75.]

objects in view was the establishment of a sisterhood, distinct from that of Quebec.

The presence of M. de Queylus at Quebec had not been satisfactory to the Jesuits. The elements of the difficulty may be traced to personal divergence of thought and education. M. de Queylus had not been reared in the dogmas of their theology and discipline, and he was not inclined to rest satisfied with the pretensions to exclusive power which they set up. Personally, he was of high character, in no way wanting in self-assertion and not inclined to cede his own opinions out of deference to theirs. Their influence was accordingly directed to supersede him. The first step to limit his jurisdiction had been effected. The second, was to make him subordinate to their own school of thought, although not directly to one of themselves. No Jesuit, by the rules of his order, can be a Bishop. Their effort, therefore, was given to obtain the appointment of a Bishop having supreme jurisdiction in Canada, imbued with their opinions, who would act with them in carrying out their policy.

It had been considered that when M. de Queylus had proceeded to Canada, the step was preliminary to his appointment as Bishop. It was not without an object that the Jesuits had begged of him to remain at Quebec. His stay with them under their eye was a species of episcopal novitiate. It was to determine if they would find him eligible, and as such receive their influence. A few months had shewn them that they must consider his appointment as undesirable. Their organization enabled them to make the fact known to the Court through their order in Paris. It was whispered that M. de Queylus did not possess the qualifications hoped for, and that another selection was desirable. Accordingly, while they urged the immediate necessity of subjecting the Colony of New France to Episcopal Jurisdiction, when their advice was asked as to the incumbent, they recommended the Abbé de Montigny.

This ecclesiastic, known in Canadian history as Bishop de Laval, was a younger son of the Sieur de Montigny ; the

latter, himself a second son of the Sieur de Tartigny, founder of the branch of the de Montignys. The Lavals were a noble house of Maine, connected with the Montmorencies before that family obtained its historic fame. Early in the thirteenth century, a Montmorency married a second wife, Emma de Laval. While the elder son directly continued the race of Montmorency, the second son assumed the name of Montmorency-Laval. This line continued from father to son till the end of the thirteenth century when Guy the Eighth married a second wife. His eldest son carried on the branch of Montmorency-Laval. The second son took the title of Seigneur de Chatillon en Vendalais. This line ended with Jeanne de Laval, his granddaughter. She married first Bertrand de Guesclin and, secondly, a person simply named Guy de Laval, first Seigneur of Loué. No record is preserved to establish that he was one of the Laval family. It may accordingly be assumed that some gentleman, marrying the widowed heiress, took the name of her family and estate, a custom observed to this day; but peculiarly so in this family. When Jean, Comte de Montfort of Bretagne, married Anne, only daughter of Guy XI., he took the name and title of Guy XII.* At her death, in 1645, the line of Montmorency-Laval closed, although subsequently the arms were claimed by other representatives of the family.

The first Seigneur de Loué, who married Jeanne de Laval, died in 1386. His great-grandson, Guy de Laval, had two children. The eldest, Pierre carried on the line of the Sieurs de Loué. The second, René de Laval, became Seigneur de Faigne de Ver, de la Rosière et de Montigny. He was the grand-

* "Par un des articles de contrat de mariage, J. de Montfort fut obligé à prendre les nom, armes et cri [de guerre] de Laval, et céder les siennes à Ch. de Montfort son frère puiné J. de Montfort, et toute sa posterité y furent si fidèles, que tous les pères de sa femme depuis le puiné du connétable ayant eu pour nom de baptême de Guy, tous les Lavals-Montfort à cet exemple des Lavals-Montmorency, prirent tous le nom de baptême de Guy. Jusqu'à changer le leur, quand de cadets ils devinrent ainés, prirent le nom du Guy en même temps que celui du comte de Laval. C'est cette maison en Bretagne qui a fait le troisième maison de Laval. Saint Simon V., p. 253.

father of Hugues, a younger son, who became the founder of the Sieurs de Montigny.* It was from this branch that Bishop de Laval sprang; he being a descendant of Hugues. The elder brother, Jean Louis de Laval, continued the line of the de Montigny. Thus Bishop de Laval belonged to one of the collateral branches of an honourable if not an historical noble house.†

* The name of Bishop de Laval does not appear in the "Dictionnaire de Noblesse." The mention of his family in the text is in accordance with the statements of the Bishop's biographers.

† I have made every effort to trace the genealogy of Bishop de Laval, because I cannot recognize that he is entitled to the affix of the illustrious name of Montmorency, which it has become the custom to apply to him. He himself never assumed it. There is no record of his ever having called himself other than the Abbé de Montigny; and the test to the right to a name, is that a person of distinction permissibly has borne it. Had he been entitled to the name of Montmorency, it would have been specifically so stated in the carefully drawn up letters patent of Louis XIV., 27th March, 1657. He is there named "le Sieur de Laval de Montigny, Évêque de Petrée." At that date the strictest etiquette was enforced in France in these matters, and a royal patent was a document, where the rank and name of the party receiving it would have been punctiliously observed. Charlevoix simply speaks of the *haute naissance* of M. de Laval. Had the latter been entitled to special mention in this respect, Charlevoix would not have been silent. He describes the Bishop [Vol. I., p. 339] as "François de Laval connu auparavant sous le nom d'Abbé de Montigny."

Modern writers who have not investigated the subject have been evidently misled by the rhetorical expression of the Vicar-General Colombière, who preached the funeral sermon at the Bishop's death. The Vicar-General speaks of the Bishop's acts of piety and humility as the acts of a Montmorency, in contradistinction to the victories and conquests of the Montmorency in Europe. Each would fill volumes, he says, but the triumphs of the race in America were those over sin and the devil. That his family was an offshoot of the branch having its origin as early as in the thirteenth century, and that Bishop de Laval was a member of an ancient and honourable race is undoubted. But he had no claim to the name of Montmorency-Laval which, two centuries after his death, has been given to him, and which in his life he never bore.

I refer my readers to the 'Dictionnaire de Noblesse, par de la Chenaye-Desfois, et Badier, Paris, 1869.' Articles 'Laval,' 'Montmorency.' I add as an appendix to this Book, the family pedigree, and I have extracted the details from this volume which establish the facts as I narrate them. I can refer also to Registres of the Conseil Souverain, where his name is specially set forth. I may more particularly allude to the renomination of the Council by M. de Tracy, Vol. I., p. 367. It is there given in all formality: "Mre. Francois de Laual, Euesque de Petrée nommé par sa Majesté premier Euesque de ce dit Pays."

François de Laval, according to the received report, is said to have been born the 30th April, 1623, in the Department of Eure et Loire, of which Chartres is the chief town. He was educated at the Jesuit Seminary of La Flêche. For some short period of his youth he had been an inmate of the Hermitage at Caen, which had been established to admit of greater devotion of life, according to the extreme views of Jesuit teaching ; but he must then have been a mere boy. This institution has been described by those unfriendly to it ; yet no one can say unfairly. There, it was inculcated that devotion to chastity was acceptable to God, even in wedded life. There, an extravagant denial of self, above the strength of weak humanity, was enforced : and this teaching was blended with a mystical theology, which taught that suffering was man's normal condition, that all usefulness and energy were to be subordinated to continual self-mortification. With these assumed virtues, charity to others who did not hold these opinions played little part. Every taint of Jansenist heresy was excluded from these walls. The doctrine of salvation by God's grace was held as positive blasphemy against the claimed delegated power of the priesthood. This teaching is the key to the character of Bishop de Laval. No one can deny his earnestness, his abnegation, his desire to do good, according to his own opinions. We must equally recognize the mental power which distinguished their advocacy and the unfailing courage with which he defended them.

His was one of those compound characters of which history furnishes many examples. His personal life was exemplary. He was laborious, pains-taking and devoted to his duties. His austeries he carried to the extreme of self-mortification. He is represented as not allowing his dirty bed to be changed though it swarmed with vermin ; as eating tainted meat ; as performing duties to the sick which make even hospital nurses shudder. In his private life, he lived simply and unostentatiously. But his mind was narrow and contracted. He was impatient of contradiction. He could see no proceeding but in the light it affected his pronounced views. Devoted

to the Jesuits, all opinions secular and religious not in accord with their dogmas with him were marked by error. It was his belief that the Church should obtain the first recognition, and possess absolute power. It was the one dominant influence to which all authority should succumb ; and as its highest dignitary he claimed to be the depositary of that power. Protestantism was an abomination to him. It was his policy to exclude all trace of it from the country. No prosperity, no national benefit, in his eye would be acceptable, if tainted by arising from the head or labour of the heretic. Had he had his way, not one would have been allowed to set his foot on Canadian soil.* His theories of government were those of a paternal despotism, stamping out every trace of freedom of thought and liberty of action.

Bishop de Laval failed entirely to grasp the true position of Canada. He was constantly battling for opinions and views which modern statesmen of mind and genius would call secondary if not petty ; while the broad national policy, distinctly marked out in that hour of trial, obtained from him no consideration. Even those who have identified themselves with his fair fame in history, have not failed to recognize, that at that date a self-reliant population should have been brought into Canada, with the view of driving the Iroquois to submission, even if necessary to their extermination, for the war was threatening to take that character. M. de Laval and men of his class have no desire for the prosperity of a country unless they can direct and control it. They can recognize no benefit to be obtained unless their authority be maintained and their opinions prevail. It is to such as these that the loss of Canada to France must be attributed. When the struggle came, and the Colonies, backed by the weight of Great Britain, at length understood that they must act in union, and carry on their operations with the concentration of their whole strength, France was outweighed, outnumbered, and driven from point to point until no standing ground was left.

* He made it a matter of reproach that they should meet to worship God.
See Appendix, end of this book.

That such was the case was owing to the policy enforced by the class of which Bishop de Laval was one of the chief exponents. By his position and force of character he played a prominent part in Canadian history for upwards of thirty years.

On receiving the tonsure, M. l'Abbé de Montigny, the name he first assumed, became attached to a set, marked by austerity of manner, among whom were M. de Maiserets and M. Dudouyt, both of whom found their way to Canada. From Paris he had proceeded to Caen, and became known in Jesuit circles, identifying himself with their theology and policy. He had on a former occasion been destined for the mitre ; to proceed to Cochin-China. Circumstances interfered with the design. Consequently, he turned his attention to New France, and when the proposed new Bishopric in Canada was named, he obtained the support of the Jesuits. The project was warmly advocated by the Queen Mother, and in 1657 his name was submitted by the King to Pope Alexander VII. for the appointment. The application was sustained by appeals to several Cardinals of influence. Delay occurred, owing to the King using the term 'Père de Laval.' The Propaganda declined to recommend the appointment without knowing to what order the nominee belonged. It took time to determine the fact that he was a secular priest. The Jesuits, who had taken the lead in the matter acted with the astuteness traditionally ascribed to them. Their recommendation consisted in the appointment of a Vicar Apostolic with the title of Bishop *in partibus*, who, if he failed to satisfy the requirements of the position, could be replaced. It was also the opinion of the Pope, that Canada was too young a country for the appointment of a permanent Bishop, and this view prevailed.

The want of accord in Canada, between M. de Queylus and the Jesuits had been strongly represented in Paris. Read by the light of letters which remain, the quarrel must have been serious, and it was urged on the French Resident at Rome that the cause of religion depended on the nomination of a Bishop of their selection.

The Pope, however, still hesitated. Anne of Austria had undertaken to pay an annual stipend of one thousand livres to the Bishop, until the King would make a larger contribution. The Pope desired to see the endowment secured in perpetuity. These matters being settled, on the 3rd June, 1658, M. de Laval was named Bishop of Petrea, in Arabia, with a dispensation of non-residence in the country.*

The appointment did not satisfy the French Episcopate. At this period in France there was a class of ecclesiastics who endeavoured to obtain nomination as Bishops *in partibus*, so as to turn the office to their own profit. By intrigues and false representations, many had succeeded, and then remained in their own country to obtain promotion at home. The scandal had been presented to Rome at a meeting of the clergy in 1656; and they called upon the Bishops in France not to consecrate any Bishop so appointed. No correct knowledge of Bishop de Laval's nomination had been obtained; and it was generally viewed with disfavour, more especially as it was accompanied by the office of Vicar Apostolic in Canada. These functions had been attached to the Archbishopric of Rouen for the last quarter of a century, and the then Archbishop brought the matter before a meeting of Bishops at Paris, 25th September, 1658. The consequence was that it was resolved to send a circular to all the Bishops in France, requesting them not to proceed to the consecration of M. de Laval, until the Bull granting the dignity was examined.

The proceeding was reported to Cardinal Mazarin, and approved by him. At the same time, the Parliament of Rouen was appealed to. On the eve of the consecration, on the 3rd October, a resolution was passed protesting against M. de Laval exercising the duties of the Vicar-General, on the ground that the Pope had been surprised into granting the dignity. The consequence was, that the Bishop of Bayeux withdrew from his engagement to consecrate M. de Laval.

* I must acknowledge my obligations to the labours of the late learned Abbé Faillon—Vol. II., p. 321 et seq.—that I am able to give an account of these transactions.

The matter was considered by the Propaganda. Some of the Cardinals hesitated to act in the face of the course universally taken by the French Bishops. Finally, it was determined that the Pope's Nuncio in Paris should intervene. The latter obtained the co-operation of Abelly, Bishop of Rodez, and of de Saussaye, Bishop of Toul. The ordination took place on the 8th December, on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, at the Abbey of Saint Germain des Près, the church of which was outside the jurisdiction of the Archbishops of Rouen and Paris. The ceremony was performed early in the morning with closed doors, the Nuncio having asked for the church for a pontifical service of which no part should be made public. It, however, became known and the Parliament of Paris passed a resolution that M. de Laval should present his letters of appointment to the Court, and that they should not be acted upon until the Royal consent had been given.

This interference was unfavourably viewed by the Propaganda. The Cardinals considered that they had only acted according to the Royal desire, especially expressed by Anne of Austria. Moreover, it was an assertion of ecclesiastical independence scarcely agreeable to that body. The pretensions of the Archbishop of Rouen were set aside as to their general principles, and the necessary steps were taken to nullify what had been done adversely. The Nuncio asked that the resolution of the Paris Parliament should be ignored. It was, eventually, deemed advisable to settle matters quietly, and the King resolved to accept Bishop de Laval as Vicar Apostolic giving him letters patent.

The matter, however, did not close here. In the Bull forwarded to M. de Laval, Quebec is stated to be in the diocese of Rouen, and this admission was not made by inadvertence. No regular authority had ever been given to the Archbishop of Rouen for the exercise of any right. This mention of ecclesiastical submission of Quebec to the Archbishop of Rouen, confirmed and authorized the proceedings of the previous quarter of a century. The Archbishop, acting on this

recognition of Quebec being within his diocese, claimed that his jurisdiction should be maintained, and, in a letter to Cardinal Mazarin,* submitted his pretensions that M. de Laval should likewise take from him as Ordinary the office of Grand Vicar until Quebec was created a See.

No such question would be raised in modern times. It is now understood that the Vicar Apostolic is specially sent under the Pope's authority to direct Roman Catholic religious services ; and that it is incompatible for him to be invested with any other powers. The matter was not then so understood. In the royal letters patent it is set forth that M. de Laval proceeded to New France on his Episcopal mission, for such it really was, with the irrevocable consent of the Ordinary without prejudice to him : a recognition of procedure entirely justifying the Archbishop as exercising rights received from his predecessors. Rights which he felt bound to transmit unimpaired, but which, in this case, at royal request, he had consented to forego.

The text of these letters patent was in no way acceptable to the Nuncio. He represented that it not only failed to recognise the rights of the Pope in a matter purely ecclesiastical, but even directly affected them theoretically, in making them subordinate to the views of a French Archbishop. These were still the days of Gallicanism in the Church, and Mazarin, in spite of the remonstrance from the Nuncio, directed the expression to be maintained.

* 3rd March, 1659.

CHAPTER IX.

When M. de Laval arrived at Quebec, 16th June, 1659, his presence took the community by surprise. He had sent notice by a vessel which preceded him of his intention to leave France, but he reached Canada before his letters had been delivered. He was accompanied by Père Jerome Lalemant and three young priests, likewise by a young ecclesiastic, nephew of the founder of the Hermitage, M. de Bernières ; as if to proclaim the opinions he would advocate. There had been no preparation to receive him, so he was accommodated by the Jesuits, until a portion of the Ursuline Convent could be arranged and set apart for him.

His presence raised the question with the religious communities of Quebec. Whom were they to obey ? The representative of the Archbishop of Rouen or the Vicar Apostolic of the Holy Father ? M. de Queylus had made no abandonment of his rights. He had indeed received letters from the Archbishop encouraging him to maintain them ; and events had somewhat pointed to the probability that they would be again asserted. But a royal letter had been received adverse to them. The religious orders in Quebec, influenced by the Jesuits, acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Bishop ; and M. de Laval obtained recognition of his position, and assumed full power over both Convents.

During the year, Madlle. Mance, with Marguerite Bourgeois, returned from France. They were accompanied by three sisters, proceeding to Montreal to found an order of Congregational Nuns : thus settling the question of the character of the Convent to be established in that city. Some soldiers, enlisted for Montreal, were in the same vessel. During the voyage, a malignant fever appeared and several died. On the vessel arriving at Quebec the malady was communicated to

the population, and many severely suffered. The Bishop was conspicuously active in his attention to the sick, assisting them in every way in his power, setting at naught all advice to care for his own person. Madlle. Mance and the nuns proceeded to Montreal. Quebec gradually recovered from the visitation of the disease. The authority of Bishop de Laval was now assured, for M. de Queylus had left for France, and the intercourse with the Governor, M. d'Argenson, had as yet been limited to an interchange of civilities.

The constant danger from the Iroquois continued. Their attacks had recommenced. Even shortly after the release by d'Ailleboust of such of their tribe as had been imprisoned, they had seized eight Frenchmen in the neighbourhood of Three Rivers, and had carried them prisoners to the Mohawk. M. d'Argenson recognizing that the salvation of the colony lay in the presence of a force sufficient to defend it, and to make reprisals if necessary, sent earnest representations to France to this effect. For the time they received no attention. The few troops enlisted for Montreal, had been obtained at the expense of the Company directing its fortunes. The want of power to inflict chastisement on the Iroquois must account for the little fear shewn by them, and the constant depredations they committed. The whole population existed in the normal dread of an attack made when the assailed parties were unprepared, and the assault was unlooked for, or the odds were against any successful defence. We have here doubtless the secret of the stationary condition of the population. Many who came, finding the life of the colony such as it was, determined no longer to remain, and those who could do so abandoned the country on the first opportunity. There was no rest. The whole colony was threatened with attack. Quebec even was not safe. The nunneries had been constructed without sufficient defence, so that at night-time refuge was found in the buildings of the Jesuits. The convents were guarded by small detachments. The troops were constantly on the alert ; and to this harassing life there was no promise of cessation.

It was during this period of anxiety that the affair of Dollard took place on the Ottawa. It has been represented with strong colouring, in a narrative which the sceptical inquirer must regard as an exaggeration. There is little authority for the story as it has been related. So far as the facts can be gathered I conceive the truth to be as follows: Dollard, who had left France under a cloud, desirous of regaining his character by some dashing act of gallantry, enticed sixteen young men to join in an expedition against the Iroquois. The intention appears to have been to surprise some of the bands of the marauding Mohawks, and to exterminate them, and so give confidence and security to the settlement, and remove the feeling of terror which was paralyzing it: at the same time inflict a lesson on the Iroquois, so that they on their side would feel it was insecure, for them to approach Montreal with hostile intent. De Maisonneuve reluctantly consented to the expedition. The party either fell into an ambush or unexpectedly became engaged with overpowering numbers. The fight must have been desperate and determined, for all of them were killed or made prisoners. Not one ever returned.*

* Charlevoix does not allude to the event, although he must have seen the account as it has come down to us in the history of M. l'Abbé de Belmont: It is related in full by Dollier de Casson and the letters of the Mère de l'Incarnation. The two former place the scene at the Longue Sault on the Ottawa, and the latter gives some details of the ascent of the river. The Jesuit Relations [1660, p. 14], place the event at the Chaudiere; at Ottawa. Both de Belmont and Dollier de Casson use the same word 'debaucha'—[misled,] to mark the conduct of Dollard, the latter speaks of him as opposing delay "il pressa le plus qu'il peut l'affaire, et redoutant plus qu'il eut été bien aise de se pouvoir distinguer pour que cela lui put servir à cause de quelque affaire que l'on disait lui avoir arrivé en france." p. 143. The news was brought by a Huron to Montreal, who declared all the French were killed, but had caused such slaughter, that the Iroquois were enabled to ascend over the bodies of their dead into the old palisade fort which the French were defending. The difficulty is to conceive the existence of the fort spoken of, by whom and when constructed? The Relations describe Dollard proceeding to the Chaudiere to intercept the Iroquois hunters in their descent: that twelve were killed in the fight, five taken prisoners, of whom two were given to the Mohawks, two to the Onondagas, one to the Oneidas. The Jesuits had their story from a Huron captive. De Belmont tells us, 'Les 17 François furent tués hors 4 dont trois moururent d'abord et le quatrième fut brûlé' and that the Iroquois retreated terrified at the resistance, otherwise all

It has been said the party went out on a forlorn hope, not to give or take quarter. It is not possible to see what was to be gained by this line of conduct ; it is more difficult even, to conceive that de Maisonneuve would have given it his approval, as it was so at variance with his general policy. We are asked to accept an account of the gallantry shewn in the defence of an old fort, of which they took possession, which rests on no evidence but that of the Huron who escaped. As we conceive the object of the expedition, we feel that there was no result to be attained justifying any such deliberate sacrifice of the lives of these men. It could lead to nothing. Seventeen men were too many to lose in such a foray, and too few to send up the Ottawa to intercept a war party of the Iroquois. The expedition had doubtless a defined end, and one considered practicable of attainment, and was so accepted by de Maisonneuve ; he could never have foreseen so unfortunate a result.

In one of the expeditions undertaken by M. d'Argenson, the Governor narrowly escaped the fate of du Plessis Bochart. With a hundred men in canoes he pursued a party of Iroquois who had committed outrages near Three Rivers. He followed them to the river bank where they landed, and steered to attack them. He was the first to step into the shallow water and go forward to the shore. The Iroquois, however, were well posted and kept up so continuous a fire that the advance could not be followed up. In assaults of this character the Iroquois could set the French at defiance. In cases when they made a stand to receive an attack, they were always present in large numbers. They engaged in an assault only when success was certain ; if repulsed they took to the forest, to them a sure refuge.

It was by such attacks as these that the progress of the

was lost. There can be no doubt that these Frenchmen sold their lives dearly, and that they inflicted serious losses on the Iroquois. But there is no authority for the connected and detailed narrative of their expedition, made to present the page of romance, which we are asked to accept. Dollier de Casson did not arrive in Canada till 1666.

country was impeded, otherwise there was a generally felt confidence in its future. The land was found to be fruitful, the climate healthy, the air salubrious. With fair labour, good crops were obtained. Hardy children were born, who, when they did not die in infancy, grew to be strong men and women. Cattle were easily raised. Poultry could be bred : and, as has been found in the last two centuries, the land is capable of furnishing a happy home to all who will establish themselves upon it, to almost indefinable extent. There was no limit to the fish to be caught, the game to be taken, the animals to be hunted. The Indians from Lake Superior and Lake Michigan were finding their way to Montreal, the fur trade was never so prosperous. All that was required was to give protection to life.

The situation had become serious in the danger to which the community was exposed. The Iroquois could not be subdued on the Saint Lawrence. He had to be destroyed in his own villages, and the fact was perfectly understood. It was stated in the Jesuit Relations, in private letters and official reports. M. d'Argenson had been earnest in asking for troops. Père le Jeune, in his Relation of 1661, had addressed a petition directly to the King. He had known Canada since its repossession and was the author of the earlier Jesuit relations. In all he has written he shews the good sense of his character. No one was more capable of stating the requirements of the colony.

There is something touching in his words, even at this day. “Epistle to the King. ‘Sire, A troop of savages, as this small book will tell you, has reduced New France to extremity. May it please you, Sire, listen to her broken voice, and her last words. Save me, she cries, I am about to lose the Catholic religion. They will ravish from me the fleurs de lys. I shall no longer be French. I shall lose that name by which I have so long been distinguished. I shall fall into the grasp of savages when the Troquois will drink the rest of my blood which now scarcely flows. I shall soon be consumed in their fires ;’” and in a few more words he turns to the narrative, stating that the Iroquois were more cruel than ever.

It was well known that no extraordinary force was called for to subdue them. The strength of the Iroquois did not lie in their numbers. They scarcely exceeded twenty-two hundred fighting men. It was their tactics and policy which made them dangerous. What was needed was a determined disciplined force, under a resolute leader, to carry the war into the nursery where they were raised. They had to be exterminated in their lair.

In 1661, they had proved continually aggressive. In February, thirteen French were made prisoners at Montreal : before the middle of summer twenty-three French at Montreal, and fourteen at Three Rivers had been killed or made prisoners. The Saint Maurice was equally unsafe. A number of Attimakegs with a party of French were destroyed. The Mohawks descended below Quebec, killing eight people in Beaupré and seven on the Island of Orleans. It was after these massacres that Jean de Lauson, the Sénéchal, started to warn his brother-in-law, Couillard de l'Espinay, who was out on a hunting expedition, of his danger. He was in a boat, with a crew of seven. They landed on the Island of Orleans, to fall into the hands of the Iroquois, all to be killed with the exception of one who escaped.

While the Mohawks were thus ravaging Canada, a deputation arrived at Montreal from the Onondagas, asking for the French again to establish themselves in their old locality ; and for a missionary to be sent among them. The events which have been described suggest the dangers attending such a mission. When it was resolved to accede to this request, and Père le Moyne was instructed to proceed there, he shewed his willingness to accept the obligation, in face of the serious risk attending it. It was his fifth mission. Every such duty entrusted to him he performed with courage, tact and judgment. He was cordially welcomed. The Onondagas had then twenty French prisoners. It was resolved that nine should at once be sent to Montreal, and eleven kept until the following spring, when they should return with le Moyne.

In the middle of September the Onondagas started with

the nine prisoners. On their route they met a band of fifty of their tribe, one of whom was strutting with great complacency in a priest's soutane ; and they were bearing away some scalps. The dress was that of a Sulpician priest, Jacques Le Maistre. On 29th August, he was attending some men engaged in the harvest, not far from St. Gabriel farm. Leaving them for a period, he observed the Iroquois concealed in the bush. He gave the alarm, when the Indians fired and he was shot dead. One of the party was killed, another made prisoner, the remainder fought their way back. The Iroquois cut off the priest's head and appropriated his clerical dress. M. Le Maistre had lately arrived with Madlle. Mance, and at that time was steward of the community.

The Onondagas hearing of this outrage hesitated to go forward. The prisoners, however, assured the Indians that they would be responsible for their safety, and the journey was continued so that Montreal was reached on the 5th October.

On the 25th of October, shortly after the death of le Maistre, M. Vignal, priest of St. Sulpice, had proceeded to an island opposite Montreal* to obtain building stone. The men had worked there the previous day. Some Iroquois were in ambush. Brigeart, the Governor's Secretary, was in command. The men landed without order, and were carelessly proceeding to work, when they were attacked. Some had not even left the boats. It was so much a matter of surprise, so unlooked for, that no defence was made. Brigeart was the only one to attempt any resistance. A panic seized the remainder, and they fled. M. Vignal was shot in a canoe attempting to escape. Two of the party were killed, one died of his wounds. Brigeart was wounded, and with Vignal and

* The site was Moffatt's Island, five-eighths of a mile from the south shore, now the wharf terminus of the Champlain branch of the Grand Trunk Railway. It was used as a quarry for the stone required for Montreal, whence its name, Ile à la pierre, not de St. Pierre as stated by Charlevoix. It was considered less dangerous to obtain stone at this spot than to open quarries to the north of the fort.

The reader is referred to Dollier de Casson's account of the event, page 164, Montreal Ed.

another, were made prisoners. As Vignol could not walk, two days later he was burned at Laprairie, and eaten. Brigeart was carried to the Mohawk village to be tortured. The third prisoner was fortunately adopted by the sister of the chief, killed by Brigeart. After nine months' suffering, he returned to Montreal.

Père Guillaume Vignol was forty years old. He arrived in Canada in 1641, and was employed in the Saint Maurice Mission until 1648. He remained in Quebec attached to the Ursulines for ten years, when he went back to France. He only returned to Canada in 1659, when he joined the Sulpicians. He had been appointed steward on the death of Le Maistre.

It was in a crisis of this character that Bishop de Laval took his stand, that the power of the Church should be clearly established. The first difficulty arose as to the position of the Governor's seat in church: a matter in itself of not much importance, but really a question of status. It had been customary to give a seat in the chancel to those possessing the official position entitling them to it: an act of recognition of civic authority. The Bishop was desirous of withdrawing this privilege. It was settled by the Governor taking his seat in front of the chancel in the centre. At the midnight Christmas mass, the Bishop received the incense from a deacon, and to shew his higher claim to consideration, an inferior member of the choir presented it to the Governor. It was further established that the Governor should only be incensed after the choir, a proceeding which in that ceremonial age placed him in a subordinate position. So marked was the contention in this matter of precedence, that on the feast of Saint Francois Xavier, when hospitality is exercised by the Jesuits, neither the Governor nor the Bishop were invited, the Jesuits being unwilling to involve themselves in the quarrel by assigning their relative positions. They avoided the difficulty by sending a salmon to each of them. From the time of d'Ailleboust, the Governor had been Church-warden. The Bishop declared that he should not hold the

position. The Governor protested. The Bishop replied : when disrespectful words were addressed to him.* On one occasion there was a jubilee examination of the boys in catechism. M. d'Argenson refused to be present as the Bishop had arranged that he was to be the first to receive the salute. The difficulty was got over by no salute being given. Two boys who neglected this injunction and saluted the Governor, were flogged, to propitiate the Bishop.† De Laval had undertaken to excommunicate as heretics men who failed to accept his views on secular matters. It was a weapon he was always ready to hurl. In after years he quailed before Colbert when his Grand Vicar Dudouyt wrote him from Paris not to persevere in the course, or it might be taken notice of by the Council, in other words, that his removal from Canada would be demanded from the Pope.‡ He was then [1677] still Vicar Apostolic. The Governor protested against this course. There was no procession on Palm Sunday, because the position of the Governor came into question. On the procession of the Fête Dieu, de Laval gave orders that when the host halted at the *reposoir*§ of the fort, the soldiers should receive it kneeling, and be uncovered. The latter request d'Argenson admitted. He was willing that they should uncover. But as soldiers drawn up in line, he contended that they should stand. M. de Laval still insisted that they should kneel. As d'Argenson would not consent, the procession passed by the troops

* The words are not given. The expression in the Jesuits' Journal, 28th November, 1660, is, "Pleusieurs Paroles se dirent peu respectueuses à l'endroit de M. l'Euesque."

† "M. le Gouverneur ayant tesmoigné n'y vouloir assister en cas qu'on y saluast Mons. l'Euesque devant lui, on lui fit trouuer bon que les Enfans eussent les mains occupées pour ne saluer ny l'un ny l'autre, ce qui s'entend du prologue & de l'epilogue ; ce qui fut signifié & commandé aux enfans. Mais les enfans qui estoient Charles Couillar & Ignace de Repentigny poussés & séduits par leurs parents firent tout le contraire & saluerent Mons. le Gouverneur le premier ce qui offensa puissamment Mons. l'Euesque, que nous taschames d'appaiser & les deux enfans eurent le foit [fouet] le lendemain matin pour avoir desobéi." Jesuits' Journal, 1661, 21st February.

‡ Canadian Archives, 1885, xcixi-cxxxii. M. Dudouyt à Mgr. Laval, 1677.

§ Temporary altar, erected during the procession of the Fête Dieu.

and their temporary altar the *reposoir*, as if neither were present.

These points really involved which of the two officials, the Governor or the Bishop, was to be regarded as the chief authority. They were not lightly or frivolously advanced. To the Governor they were embarrassing. He well knew the formidable power of the Bishop. If he had considered his ease, he would have floated down with the tide. But d'Argenson felt that there was something higher than the pusillanimous acceptance of an arrogant claim. As the royal representative he had his own dignity to maintain. There was no law on the subject but the custom observed in France, and to that d'Argenson appealed. The reply recognized the civil status of the Governor, as holding the first place. It forbade excommunication for civil causes. The real points at issue were left untouched.

The accusation has been made against d'Argenson of having strong views of the dignity of his position, and his proceedings in Montreal are adduced as proof of the fact. He claimed authority over that settlement which, it is urged, was an independent organization, sustained by a Company and having its own Governor. When he visited Montreal in 1659 he was not satisfied with the mode in which he was received, de Maisonneuve limiting himself to a courteous reception. He demanded that as representative of the sovereign the keys of the fort should be handed to him; and there can be no doubt that he was perfectly right in doing so. They were given to him after some hesitation, and with some limitation. Consequently, d'Argenson had little love for Montreal. We are indebted to him for the description of the city in 1659. He describes it as making a great noise, but as a small matter. He speaks of the current making the landing place difficult to approach; a difficulty experienced in modern times, until the days of the steamboat, vessels often having been detained for weeks at the foot of the current. He found the fort in ruins. A mill had been commenced with a redoubt on a small eminence; Dalhousie Square, north where the railway

station now stands, for the formation of which the old Imperial Barracks were taken down. The place consisted of forty houses near one another, with fifty heads of families. The whole population was about one hundred and sixty souls. About two hundred arpents had been cleared.

The original selection of d'Argenson as Governor was possibly somewhat owing to his brother, a Councillor of State, who was on good terms with the Jesuits. There must have been some conversation between the brothers, for the Councillor told M. de Laval, at the time he was proceeding to Canada, that his brother was not of their way of thinking ; and he wrote that he had given the Governor privately some good advice.* It was not well taken and d'Argenson shewed annoyance that his brother had spoken on the subject. It is recorded that he was particular in his religious observances ; evidently, at this date, there was a terrorism exercised on opinion to which the Governor even was forced to succumb. There remained the same absence of cordiality. The Governor presented the *pain benit* under a salute of fifes and drums, during Mass. The Bishop disliked the custom, so he changed the ceremony of blessing the bread to the hour before Mass. The Bishop insisted that the acolytes should precede the Governor in the ceremonies of taking the Communion, in the distribution of the *pain benit*, in receiving the boughs on Palm Sunday, in the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday, and presentation of holy water. The Governor saw both the trifling and serious side of these difficulties. When he wrote to Paris for instructions, he asked a friend to read the letter to see if there was anything offensive to M. de Laval. The latter he describes as having great regard for his own opinion and marked by a spirit of intrusion on the position of other men. His reliance was on Père Lalemant, who acted as mediator, and whom he described as a person of great merit, and of such complete good sense that nothing could be added to it. Ragueneau he regarded as one of the Bishop's evil counsellors.

The position of the Governor daily became more unpleas-

* Seul à seul à cœur ouvert.

ant. He had not an allowance sufficient to meet his expenditure. His representations on the necessity of a larger force were not listened to. He was unable to carry out the policy he felt to be necessary, and he had to battle continually on minor points, to preserve the dignity of an office with which he was dissatisfied. His letters declare that he would retire when his term was expired, but there is enough to shew that he would not have declined re-appointment. There cannot be a doubt but that his antagonist, the Bishop, represented his removal as necessary. We have the main explanation in this opposition why d'Argenson's services were not continued, for he possessed high qualities, and had means been given him he would have gained an honourable place in Canadian history.

If d'Argenson leaves no such trace, there is nothing in his career but what was dignified and respectable. His nature was kindly. He was hospitable, and he had a clear view of the importance and responsibilities of his position. During the period of the sickness, he is spoken of as visiting the hospitals and personally administering to the necessities of the sick. He was in no way deficient in enterprize. Even with his small force he endeavoured to attack the Iroquois when he heard of them. These enemies never waited for his appearance: at least, he so far commanded their respect. His disputes with M. de Laval, with his mode of thinking, were unavoidable, unless he was prepared to make the royal authority subordinate to ecclesiastical pretensions. No French Governor possessing any sense of personal dignity could have made himself a party to such a claim; and when he asserted the rights and prerogatives of his office he did so with self-command, forbearance and courage. He was virtually recalled, for on the 31st August, 1661, Baron du Bois d'Avangour arrived to replace him.

CHAPTER X.

The quarrels which commenced under M. d'Argenson were continued during the whole episcopate of M. de Laval. Continually beaten and foiled, he obstinately adhered to his policy, to battle for it, step by step, and yet to gain no recognition of his pretensions. Except for his beneficence, he would be only remembered in Canada as the first Bishop of the first named diocese. There is no intellectual landmark, no record of political wisdom to cause the name of Bishop de Laval to be honoured in Canadian annals. We are referred entirely to the material marks of his bounty; to the institutions which he founded and which bear his name. It is this endowment, which his long life blended with his simple habits, enabled him to bequeath, which causes his memory to be venerated. No student of history can fail to recognise his want of political discernment. His efforts were directed on all occasions to obtain for his Church an impossible pre-eminence which a statesman would have seen was unattainable and undesirable. His querulous and unsatisfied longings threw difficulties in the way of the progress of the Colony. It was his duty to have given all moral aid to the Governor, and to have joined with him in earnest representations to the French King in calling for help in the forlorn condition of Canada. The whole strength of his character was turned in the direction of acquiring for himself undisputed power. The misery through which Canada was passing lay before him in unmistakable characters, and in a really patriotic mind would have made every other thought secondary and subordinate. In this crisis, M. de Laval was struggling to establish the authority of the Church, which was only another expression for the affirmation of his personal dignity and influence. We must bear in mind that when he arrived he found M. d'Argenson in office and

matters proceeding quietly. In a few months the causes of dissension with M. de Queylus and with the Governor were created by himself; and in less than two years the relationship of the civil and religious powers was brought into direct opposition to last for his lifetime.

It has been argued in M. de Laval's favour that this self-assertion was in accordance with the character of the period. Every one claimed all the personal consideration which he felt justified in obtaining by birth and rank. The question of precedence was a serious one, with those dwelling in Courts, or who formed their tone of thought in accordance with their ceremonies. It was a matter of importance what seat should be taken at the dinner table. The latter point of etiquette in good society is still enforced, but freed from the extravagance of the pre-revolutionary period. On one occasion M. de Laval being, from illness, unable to leave his house, M. de Frontenac having to call upon him for some occasion of state, was careful to have the fact set forth in a *procès verbal* that he had so acted, only owing to the indisposition of M. de Laval. There is likewise this fact to be recorded in estimating the Bishop's character; that those brought within his influence, his friends and dependents were personally devoted to him and remained his admirers after his death.

Whatever recognition be made of the private character of the Bishop as unimpeachable, the fact cannot absolve him from his pertinacious self-assertion, which led him to interfere with all that lay in his path, to the disregard of the feelings and the experience of others, and whatever the cost to them. No two characters are more opposite than those of M. d'Argenson and the Mère de l'Incarnation. Nevertheless, both agree on this point. They are followed by d'Avaugour, de Mésy and de Frontenac. Each of these had to experience the sting of this besetting sin. M. d'Argenson tells us how the Bishop seized a servant and, under pretence of educating her, shut her up with the Ursulines. Her master, Denis, petitioned the Governor on the subject. M. d'Argenson appealed to the intervention of Père Lalemant; but the father could effect

nothing. The Governor, however, remained firm, and the matter was eventually accommodated. M. d'Argenson has given us a description of M. de Laval. He tells us that he was a Prelate, who had said that a Bishop could do all he wished and whose menace was excommunication.

The Mère de l'Incarnation records how he interfered with the discipline and constitution of the Ursulines, setting aside the rules and practices observed at Tours and Paris. "He has given us eight months or a year to think over this," says this lady, "but the matter is already settled and the resolution taken. We will not accept the change." She is an admirer of the Bishop's zeal, but she thinks that experience should prevail over mere speculation.

The later difficulties with the Abbé de Queylus occurred on the eve of M. d'Argenson's departure from Canada. They had commenced shortly after the Bishop's arrival. The position of M. de Queylus was embarrassing. Himself responsible to the Archbishop of Rouen, he could not recognize that the letters patent of the Vicar Apostolic extended authority over himself. The influence of M. de Laval was powerful in France; and accordingly, on the 31st March, 1659, Anne of Austria sent a *lettre de cachet* to d'Argenson to prevent the exercise of any act of ecclesiastical power except by the Bishop, and to send back to France all who refused to submit to his authority. M. de Queylus, who was one of the members of the Montreal Company, had remained in the settlement engaged in its development. But in August he proceeded to Quebec to pay his respects to the Vicar Apostolic. The meeting was amicable. M. de Queylus acknowledged the powers of the Bishop. He even preached at the Chapel of the Hospital nuns, when the Bishop was present, and M. de Laval supported him in his view of establishing a branch of the sisterhood at Montreal.

After the departure of M. de Laval from France, the Archbishop of Rouen again raised the question of his rights. He addressed letters to de Queylus, renewing his powers of Grand Vicar and enclosed a letter from the King instructing him to

act upon them without prejudice to the powers of the Vicar Apostolic. Three days later letters were sent both to d'Argenson and to de Laval, in which the authority of the letter given to the Archbishop, is declared to be in abeyance until the question of precedence is settled by the Pope. There was a friendly feeling between d'Argenson and de Queylus. From a letter extant from the former it is shewn, that there was no renewal of the pretensions of de Queylus at this time, and as to the title he had received it was not made public.

There was much in the character of M. de Queylus to have made him popular during his stay in Quebec. As Abbé de Loc-Dieu, and with some private fortune, he was rich, free handed, and had heartily taken up the cause of Montreal. In the past year he had paid for the passage of twenty-three Frenchmen. He had assisted families in the settlement, and had obtained attention by his practical views for its improvement. When at Quebec he had been a cheerful giver to the poor, and was popular from his courteous manners.

Whatever patrimony M. de Laval possessed, and the inference is that, as a younger son of a junior branch, it could not have been considerable, his biographer* tells us that he abandoned it to his relatives. On his arrival in Quebec he had simply the stipend, one thousand livres, allowed him by Anne of Austria. He affected a life of austerity. He had one servant, a gardener, and lived in one room, on the simplest fare. In the exercise of his authority on others he was equally exacting. He made a regulation that no one should be buried in the church without payment of a sum of some amount. For the poor the last rites were performed gratuitously. The rich who wanted grand masses with a full choir were called upon to pay fees to the parish. Hitherto no payment had been made for such service. It is evident that if there be difference of form in these ceremonies, M. de Laval was not only justified but called upon to establish such a principle. It has been asserted that he exacted fees unjustifiably large. M. de Laval may have felt that families desirous of having

* Abbé de La Tour, 1761, p. 11.

these marks of dignity should pay for them, and in this view he is sustained by modern opinion. But the course he took did not add to his popularity.

The amiability of the character of M. de Queylus, contrasted with the sternness of M. de Laval, led to the former being much regretted at Quebec. M. de Queylus had not been without his difficulties. He had persevered in obtaining 6,000 livres from the inhabitants of Quebec. That sum had been lent by them to the Jesuits, when performing parochial duty, for the construction of a house, and had been repaid. The churchwardens claimed that it should be expended in a residence for the *curé*, and a friendly suit was instituted against the Jesuits to give up the residence which had been built with the money. This proceeding led to the sum repaid being appropriated to erect a dwelling for the parish priest; the desire had been to turn it to other purposes. It is stated that he laid the foundations of the Church of St. Anne de Beau-pré, still much visited, as it was in those early days, on account of the miracles stated to be performed there. He gave a trifle to the masons who attended him on the occasion. They became somewhat obstreperous in drinking his health: a year later, it was the ground of an accusation that he countenanced drunkenness. He placed the first stone of the Church of Chateau Richer. He particularly encouraged the Sisterhoods, giving them every possible support. He was not deficient in self-assertion, for he excommunicated some incendiaries who would not name their accomplices. M. de Queylus exercised an influence equally with the rich and the poor. Subsequently, he gave 6,000 livres to the Hospital nuns, to endow a sister who should represent him for ever. The money was applied to the purchase of a Fief. On leaving Quebec, he was accompanied by sixty persons, and the Governor, M. d'Argenson, expressed his regret that he was unable to pay him the compliment of attending him. With the exception of two ecclesiastics, the secular priests who were at Quebec, left with him; among them the unfortunate M. Vignal.

M. de Queylus returned to Montreal, where he was peacefully living, when the extreme proceeding was taken of arresting him, so as to enforce his departure for France. A squad of soldiers proceeded to his house, and by force brought him, with two priests, to Quebec. The fact is authenticated by the Abbé de Belmont and M. d'Allet, one of the two priests. No motive is assigned in contemporary records for the proceeding. Indeed they are silent on the subject. Sufficient evidence however exists that Bishop de Laval called upon the Governor to carry out the King's instructions of the 11th of May, to maintain the authority of the Bishop of Petrea. The parties so arrested were conducted to Quebec. M. d'Allet from sickness was unable to leave, and passed the remainder of the winter there. The other priest's name is unknown. M. de Queylus left Quebec the 5th of October by the returning ships. M. de Laval at this date had been only a few months in the country.

One of the statements of the Bishop was, that the presence of M. de Queylus would cause a schism in the church. In 1660, he wrote to the Pope that neither abuse nor error existed in Canada.* M. de Queylus was also a Sulpician : that Society had lately established itself in Montreal, affiliated to the mother Society in France, and there could be no ground to doubt its orthodoxy. Likewise, M. de Queylus, as an active member of the Society, was known by his administrative ability.

The independent position claimed by Montreal was unfavourably felt by successive Governors. Now that its ecclesiastical teaching was to be placed under the control of an order other than the Jesuits, there arose in the small ecclesiastical circle of Quebec a feeling adverse to the settlement.

The presence of one in every way so distinguished as M. de Queylus gave strength and character to the community. He had been the representative of authority before the arrival of M. de Laval, and he still recalled the undefined, possibly

* Romanum ritum hic omnes sequuntur, neque errores ulli, nulli abusus irreperunt, nullus hic error in fide neque abusus ullus in religionis exercitatur.

undefinable, powers of the Archbishop of Rouen. His re-appearance in Canada would, accordingly, in every respect have been unpleasant to the Bishop of Quebec.

The letters which remain establish the intimate correspondence maintained in France by M. de Laval. His powerful friends were able to make his views accepted. On the 27th of February, 1660, M. de Queylus received a *lettre de cachet* forbidding him to return to the Colony. A fortnight later d'Argenson was informed, that as parties were introducing schism into the church, he was to maintain the authority of the Bishop of Petrea. It was written in general terms, but gave unlimited authority to take the steps he saw fit, provided it was done to prevent disorder and confusion in the church.

The proceedings against M. de Queylus were accepted by the Montreal associates as directed against themselves. They waited on M. de Lamoignon, the first President of the Parliament at Paris, and represented that there was no ground for the statement made that schism would arise. They undertook that M. de Queylus, and that all Sulpicians now in Montreal or who they would hereafter send, would declare in writing that they would recognize no authority in Canada but that of the Vicar Apostolic. Accordingly, they trusted that as M. de Queylus was proceeding to Canada, in the interest of some new acquisition of land, and as the society were about sending a reinforcement to advance the well-being of the settlement, no objection would be taken by M. de Laval against the presence of M. de Queylus in Montreal. This view was accepted by the President, M. de Lamoignon; and it was agreed that on such declaration being authoritatively given, a *lettre de cachet* would be forwarded to Canada, withdrawing all prohibition against M. de Queylus proceeding thither. The declaration was made, and the Montreal proprietary felt that they could act as they deemed expedient.

These proceedings were certainly communicated to Quebec; for in August of the same year M. de Laval sent a document for signature to the ecclesiastics of Montreal. It set forth that those signing it acknowledged none but his juris-

diction, repudiating all others ; and that they gave their signatures in token of perfect submission and obedience. At this date there were four Sulpicians in Montreal, Messrs. Souart, Galinier, Vignal, and Le Maistre. They all signed the paper. It was signed likewise by the four priests at Quebec constituting the clergy acting directly under the Bishop.

The document despatched to Quebec, M. de Laval visited Montreal. He was received with all possible deference ; and, in accordance with the request of the inhabitants, interfered in the interest of the nuns of Saint Joseph, left destitute by the bankruptcy of M. de la Dauversière.

As no steps were taken to remove the ban laid upon M. de Queylus by the *lettre de cachet*, it was considered advisable to apply to the Holy See for the establishment of the *Cure* of Montreal, the first incumbent of which should be M. de Queylus. The necessary endowment was furnished and M. de Queylus proceeded personally to Rome to obtain the Pope's consent. On his arrival he found that he was accused of Jansenism. At first he could obtain no hearing. He had not provided himself with credentials as to his orthodoxy, for such an accusation was the last he looked for. Fortunately for him, Cardinal Bagny, who had been Nuncio at Paris, was at Rome. He had been a friend of M. Olier, and also knew the merit of M. de Queylus. The Cardinal became his protector. He was thus enabled to submit his petition. At the same time he represented the Archbishop of Rouen, on whose behalf he submitted 'some very moderate and reasonable requests.'

The Bull to M. de Bretonvilliers as one of the society, establishing a Parish Church in Montreal, and instituting a *Cure* for its service, to be presented by the Sulpicians of Paris, was granted in December, 1660. An unfortunate clause was added, directing the Archbishop of Rouen to examine whether the endowment was satisfactory. The question of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Canada was thus again raised. M. de Laval, who had heard of the application, had written to the Nuncio to oppose it. Some irregularity had taken place so far as the jurisdiction of the Nuncio was

affected, which was afterwards satisfactorily explained. No record exists in Rome against the Bull being granted, and it appeared as if quiet had been re-established, when in this crisis the Archbishop of Rouen intervened. By the terms of the Bull he considered that his jurisdiction in Canada was recognized. Accordingly, he addressed M. de Laval, and delegated him to place M. de Queylus in possession.

The Society of Montreal now considered that the proceedings taken by them in Paris, together with the Bull creating the *Cure* of Montreal, rendered further observance by M. de Queylus of the *lettre de cachet* unnecessary. It had not been revoked, but they looked upon it as inoperative, and M. de Queylus was directed to proceed to Canada. The Abbé de Belmont speaks of his coming to Canada incognito. The Archives of the Seminary, Quebec, as kept under M. de Laval, state that the friends of M. de Laval were well acquainted with the proposed step, and that as M. de Queylus was entering on board the vessel in which he was to sail, the agents of M. de Laval reminded him of the *lettre de cachet* against his proceeding to Canada. The ship in which he took passage only went as far as Percé. There M. de Queylus found a vessel for Quebec, where he arrived the 3rd of August. He landed and waited on M. de Laval.

M. de Laval at once expressed his opposition to the Bull. He refused to institute M. de Queylus, as requested by the Archbishop of Rouen; and even withheld permission for him to proceed to Montreal. That M. de Laval, from his standing point in that stage of the proceedings, was justified in declining to represent the Archbishop of Rouen and institute M. de Queylus, few will dispute. Whether it was advisable to raise ecclesiastical points of precedence in this hour of Canada's tribulation is a totally different question. M. de Laval further questioned the Bull itself. He stated that he had been informed that it had been obtained insidiously. M. de Queylus had himself committed an irregularity in having failed to communicate all the facts to the Propaganda. Possibly intentionally, for eventually the Bull was opposed by some of the

Cardinals, without, however, causing it to be withdrawn. Whatever the cause, the omission was serious, and with these irregularities, M. de Laval may be held to have acted properly in refusing to recognize it without further reference to Rome.

So long as the Vicar Apostolic refused to act upon the Bull, it was inoperative. For the time, it was as if it did not exist. But his interference in other respects must be looked upon as beyond his ecclesiastical functions. It is difficult to give it any other term than the tyrannical exercise of power. He instructed M. de Queylus not to leave Quebec. In 1659, M. de Queylus had been marched by a squad of soldiers from Montreal and taken to Quebec to be placed on shipboard. It was evident to him that his retention at Quebec, was in order to keep him there until the departure of the ships and then send him back to France. He appealed to the Bishop against this decision. He likewise addressed the Governor and asked his interference. M. d'Argenson used his personal influence with M. de Laval to obtain a reversal of this restraint on the movements of M. de Queylus. It was in vain. The Bishop addressed a letter to M. de Queylus, ordering him not to leave Quebec under penalty of disobedience. Not content with this course he called upon the Governor to prevent the departure by force. In the hope of mollifying the Bishop, M. d'Argenson saw him, and at the same time personally declined to act in a severe manner.

It is difficult to tell what danger M. de Laval anticipated to trouble the peace of the church, or what complications he looked for personally embarrassing to himself. He was master of the situation. He possessed in writing the acknowledgement of the Montreal Sulpicians of his authority. The institution of the *Cure* of Montreal had been delegated to himself. He was writing to Rome and to Paris on the subject. His views would reach the ecclesiastical and political powers as soon as those of an opposing interest, if any existed. The Colony was passing through a period of most severe trial to which Montreal was specially subjected. Viewed by men of our day, the time was one when forbear-

anice and charity were most called for : they are in no way to be traced in the conduct of M. de Laval.

On the following day he addressed M. d'Argenson, with more than the usual force which is apparent in his writings. He told M. d'Argenson that personally and by letter he had asked his assistance. That now he did so for the third time ; reminding him that nothing could be more clear or more positive "than the orders of the King, which yesterday we read together, which oblige you to give us the assistance necessary for the direction of our church, in which only your duty consists." Recapitulating the *lettres de cachet* which have been set forth, M. de Laval states that the Governor is under the obligation to grant the "aid I ask of you, having relation only to the execution of an order, the most gentle, although it seems neither so to you nor to M. de Queylus, which a bishop can give to an ecclesiastic who has been the cause of many disorders in the church." Finally, in the interests of the heavenly and earthly sovereigns, he appealed to d'Argenson for aid.

CHAPTER XI.

Had M. d'Argenson been continued in his position he might have felt that it would have been politic to act in unison with M. de Laval. But the vessels from France on which M. de Queylus was a passenger, also brought letters to the Governor, which informed him that his successor had been named and had arrived at Ile Percé. M. d'Argenson declined to act, perhaps not indisposed to show the Bishop the little personal weight he could exercise. The Bishop was not so unfortunate in all appeals, for one of the preachers at Three Rivers felt called upon to stigmatize the Montreal Sulpicians as priests of Antichrist : one of those favourite epithets which, as occasion has suggested, every form of religion has from time to time appropriated, and on which even in these days we occasionally stumble.

As M. d'Argenson would not interfere, M. de Laval addressed another letter to M. de Queylus, threatening him with suspension if he left for Montreal ; and that there might be nothing to interfere with the proceeding, he included in the letter, the first, second, and third monitions, which were the necessary preliminaries to censure if pronounced. It certainly was a new doctrine that M. de Laval should control the personal movements of an ecclesiastic. Such was the opinion of the party interested, for, on the night of the 5th of August, M. de Queylus left Quebec for Montreal. He had scarcely reached the spot when he received a letter from M. de Laval informing him that unless he returned he would be declared suspended from his sacerdotal functions.

M. de Queylus remained in Montreal ; no suspension was urged against him. M. d'Avaugour was hourly looked for, and matters were left undecided until his arrival. The new Governor reached Quebec at the end of August, but he did

not assume office until the 19th of September, the day when M. d'Argenson departed for France. At this time, the representations of M. de Laval at Paris had had the effect of obtaining an additional *lettre de cachet* ordering the departure of M. de Queylus. It now arrived. The new Governor exacted obedience to the order and M. de Queylus left for France on the 23rd of October.

From M. de Queylus, the Bishop turned his attention to the *Cure* of Montreal, for which the Bull had been obtained. He denounced it as the means of introducing ruin and disorder into the Church of New France. These opinions impressed the Court. The King applied to the Pope on the subject; the attack failed. The Datory Office at Rome justified the course it had followed in recommending the Bull, and the Montreal associates also found friends sufficiently powerful to sustain their position.

But the triumph was imperfect. The Priests of Saint Sulpice at Paris, in 1659, had been ordered by the Court to send no more of their Priests to Canada. The days were gone, when intrigue could permanently banish them as the Recollets had been excluded in the previous years, but that ever they were admitted in the Colony was not owing to the good will of Bishop de Laval. They were described by him as opposed to the Holy See, and devoted to the Archbishop of Rouen. By the same vessel which carried away M. de Queylus, M. de Laval addressed the Pope, warning him against the proceedings of M. de Queylus, in France, and speaking in strong language against the Priests of St. Sulpice. Thus, with the representations of the Court of France, and with the letters from the Vicar Apostolic, the Pope gave instructions to the Nuncio at Paris, that the Bull should not be put into execution, and the Sulpicians had no other course but patiently to wait for better days.

Such was the condition of affairs when M. d'Avaugour took charge of the government. In the interval between his arrival and the departure of M. d'Argenson, he travelled over what extent of the country he was able to visit. The new Governor

was now forty years of age. He had seen service, and, while having the character of being able and possessing energy, report assigned him the reputation of being eccentric and peculiar. He was impressed with Canada and wrote in its praise to Colbert, and dwelt on the natural beauties of the Saint Lawrence in the tone they suggest. His rule in Canada lasted two years, his successor arriving in September, 1663. It was characterized by important events and proved to be a turning point in the country's history.

The Company of One Hundred was now reduced in number to forty-five. Their career for past years shewed their incapacity to direct the fortunes of the colony, and that the guiding principles of their operations was the development of its trade. There was little advantage, personally to be gained ; and, from the heavy charges to be met, the Company possessed only a continuance of responsible obligations with little hope of individual benefit. The country was entirely abandoned to the attacks of the Iroquois. The Saint Lawrence was so unsafe for travel that it took a month for the death of Major Close to be known at Quebec. He was a prominent person in Montreal, of great gallantry, and had lately married a *protégée* of Sœur Bourgeois ; the young wife being left a widow at nineteen. In the last months of 1661, it is estimated that eighty Frenchmen had been killed or held as captives ; many of them persons of position, and some of the most promising young men of the country. It began to be felt that there was no hope but in France, and that some national recognition was indispensable, if the country was to continue to be inhabited by the white man.

So general became this feeling that it was resolved to send an agent to France to bring the situation of the country directly to the notice of the King, and ask his intervention and protection. The choice fell on Pierre Boucher, of Three Rivers. He was born in Normandy and arrived, with his father, in 1635, when fifteen years of age. He lived to be ninety-seven, as is recorded in the Church Registers of Boucherville, where he died. He had acted as Governor of Three

Rivers between 1653–1658, and had passed through the long tribulation to which that settlement had been subjected. I have availed myself of his labours in giving a picture of the country at that date, as far as possible. He was well qualified for the mission, and from his honourable, straightforward nature, was calculated to impress those he met. He left October, 1661. His views were sustained by d'Avaugour; and the presence of d'Argenson in France added greatly to the weight of his representations.*

Boucher was received by the King graciously; and the result of the visit awoke attention to the points on the observance of which the safety of the country depended. New France became a portion of the Kingdom. It passed from the control of a dissatisfied semi-bankrupt Company to be incorporated into the territory of France as a royal province, of which the King and Council alone were the heads. It is the national position which, in the first instance, should have been extended. The policy of France towards Canada is one of the many instances how often men early learn a truth, only late to act upon it. Every Governor, even the incompetent and self-interested de Lauson had seen, that which was needed for Canada, was a force to control the aggressive Iroquois. There was no exception to this common cry for help, and by none was it more earnestly made than by the Jesuit Fathers.

Not much is known of M. d'Avaugour, beyond his government of two years in Canada. There is a letter of his extant which does not tell favourably for his statemanship.† It was his fourth despatch. The first had been in praise of the length and beauty of the Saint Lawrence; the second on the necessity of fortifying Quebec; the third against aiding the Colonies of Gaspé, and Placentia in Newfoundland. M. Dumont, in 1662, had taken possession of the latter as an important post for the protection of fisheries, and had left thirty soldiers with

* Boucher's lineal descendants yet survive in Canada. The present representative of the family is the Hon. Charles E. Boucher de Boucherville, Senator for Montarville.

† Collection de MS. Archives, Quebec, 1883. Vol. I., page 155.

a priest as a garrison, with instructions to exclude the English and Dutch. The fourth despatch recommended the conquest of the English Colonies, New England and New York. The inhabitants were all heretics, he said, rich, engaged in fisheries and in commerce with the Indians. The country was not so cold as Canada. It simply required ten large vessels and four thousand men. If the King would give him the command he hoped to take Boston and Manhattan [New York] between May and July. He proposed to conclude his promenade by returning by the way of Orange [Albany,] leaving garrisons where necessary. M. d'Avaugour made this proposition, when, from the want of soldiers, men were in danger a few arpents from the fort gates of Quebec.

It was in his day that the question of the liquor traffic came into prominence and created a serious misunderstanding between the civil and religious authorities destined to be felt in every family in Canada. One of the means of payment for the beaver and the other skins had been by liquor which, from the commencement, had been fully supplied. An endeavour has been made to throw the blame of its introduction on the English during their occupation of Quebec. The English traders were neither better nor worse than the French, and it is to be presumed that they continued the system of trade as they found it established. It is an unwarranted assertion to say that it was introduced by them. Even had such been the case thirty years had elapsed since their departure and there had been ample time to perfect a thoroughly improved system of dealing with the Indian. The trade took this form ; and afterwards it was not possible to control it. Champlain endeavoured to keep it within fixed limits. His policy was followed by succeeding Governors. But the attempt failed and the Indian continued to obtain brandy. The use of ardent spirits by the Indian is destruction to him and has been directly legislated against in modern times. He drinks to get drunk. Especially at that date so he might, when in that state, perform some act which his sober judgment would condemn and prevent, but

which might be palliated by his inebriety. The blame would then fall on the fire-water which he had swallowed. The competition in trade had worked its influence. Liquor having been found acceptable was used by one trader ; and another adopted the principle not to be at a disadvantage. Thus it became a currency of tempting acceptance. The traders, without distinction accordingly, had fallen into the practice of giving it and the difficulty arose as to what could be substituted for it.

A few months after the Bishop's arrival a meeting had been held* under his presidency, to determine whether selling liquor to the Indian was a sin against morality. Amid the ceremonies of Easter, 1660, the Bishop addressed the congregation on the crime of giving liquor in trade, and he ended in excommunicating those who would continue the practice.

The question of the use of spirits in trade was one of great difficulty. It had grown into a custom and the trade itself depended to some extent on its continuance. It was a source of profit, and, if used at all, every one engaged in such operations had to use it to hold his own. The whole community was interested. M. de Laval was so far right ; the mischief being established to the full extent, the remedy lay in prohibition : that no person whatever should use it. It became a more serious question when Bishop de Laval arrogated to himself the right of constituting the non-observance of his mandate a religious offence, to be punished by excommunication. The Bishop obtained the passage of a law against supplying liquor to the Indians, the infringement of which was death. M. d'Avaugour had not been a month in office before two men were shot† and one flogged for transgressing the law. There is but little record of the emotion these proceedings occasioned in the community. But the whole of Canada was affected by them. Trade was paralyzed, and the excitement

* 1659, September 26th. Jesuits' Journal.

† Jesuits' Journal, 7th October, 1661. One of the persons shot, Daniel Voil, had been excommunicated in February as 'herétique, relaps, blasphemateur des Sacrements.' On 3rd April, an excommunicated person made public penance.

must have made itself felt in a way we can scarcely conceive. It was a question long to disturb the public peace. Sixteen years later it was the cause of a special mission to France; and the calm intellect of Colbert pointed out that if the trade could not be conducted on terms acceptable to the Indian, it would pass by the way of Albany, and he was not terrified by the exaggerated descriptions made to him of the consequences of the practice.

Unfortunately, M. de Laval never could regard any matter except from the standing point of his own opinions. Convincing of the rectitude of his intentions, and satisfied with their wisdom, and impressed with the justice of his views, he could entertain no other policy than that the trade should be summarily prevented. His own wants were few. He was capable of sacrifices for the cause he represented. He looked upon this trade as a crime; and for those who persevered in it he had stern reprisal. His remedy was the gallows; and where the law could not reach, he had the spiritual curse of excommunication. He had not the slightest idea of the delicate and nice handling with which an admitted abuse of long standing has to be treated, so that public policy when it has gone wrong may be brought into the right groove. The arbitrary measures proposed by him, however theoretically right, cut away the means of livelihood from hundreds in the small colony. A man seeing his family wanting bread, has difficulty in comprehending the abstract principle of ethics, which causes his distress. The Governor-General must have been greatly troubled by these opposing influences, for a trifling incident led to a serious difficulty.

Of all the Jesuits of that day, Father Hierosome Lalemant stands forth as one of the ablest and most prudent. He is specially mentioned by d'Argenson under this aspect and his writings and conduct establish his sense and moderation. A woman had been convicted of selling liquor to the Indians. Lalemant, who had often rendered services to the Governors, interceded for her. The incident is only known through the biographer of M. de Laval. The Governor was furious; the

reply he is reported to have made, is, that the Jesuits who were the first to exclaim against the trade, now desired to save the trader; and that if it was not a crime for this woman, it should not be for any other person.

It is customary to mention this speech as a personal characteristic of the Governor, denoting his hasty manners and his bad temper. Is it not rather to be regarded as a mark of the difficulties which had arisen from the extreme views enforced? The consequence was that all restrictions were removed. The trade in liquor became general. As in all reactions, there were excesses; but the change accorded with the public feeling. The sentiment of satisfaction was universal. Its display was painfully felt by M. de Laval. He poured forth threats and denunciations from the pulpit. The preacher, the Bishop who, a few months earlier had been a power before whom men trembled was now scarcely listened to. He hurled forth excommunications; he was told that it was a matter with which the Church had nothing to do. Some of his censures he found it politic to revoke.* The situation became one which he was unable to meet, so he started for France to appeal to that authority which had already been exercised on his side, and which he trusted successfully to influence to remove the Governor, who headed the opposition against him. He left Canada on the 12th of August.

There was another point which he was anxious to determine; the establishment of the Bishopric of Quebec. The late disturbances may have suggested that if the Governor were removable through the representations of the Vicar Apostolic, the Vicar Apostolic was by no means permanent himself, if the State saw reasons to influence the Holy Father to make a change. The opinion in the Colony was decided, that if he did not succeed, he would not return. It was not until 1674 that the Bishopric of Quebec was constituted; it may be safely said the delay must have been obtained by the influence of the Jesuits with the Pope. As matters stood, the Bishop

* 1662 Jesuit's Journal, Janvier.—“Le jour de St. Matthias, on fut obligé de relever l'excommunication à cause des troubles et desordres extraordinaires.”

of Petrea in no small degree remained in dependence on the order.

If M. de Laval did not entirely compass his wishes in this respect, his influence with the Court obtained for him a specific promise with regard to the future. There already had been some efforts made on his part in the same direction. A *lettre de cachet*, 13th of March, 1660, is in existence, in which the King promises him that when the Bishopric is established his name shall be sent to the Pope; a letter registered by himself at Quebec. On 23rd of April, 1662, the promise was again made by Anne of Austria. M. de Laval was accordingly named as the first Bishop of Quebec to be appointed by the Pope. He knew the importance of these words which went far to make him irremovable without cause, and so he styled himself Bishop nominated by the King.

One important material mark of royal favour reached him; he obtained the important grant of the Abbey of Maubec, 14th of December, 1662.

While M. de Laval was proceeding to France to lay before the Court his charges against M. d'Argenson, and to call for his removal, the Governor had sent his own Secretary, M. Peronne du Mesnil to represent his view of the situation.

The result of the mission to France by Boucher now commenced to bear fruit. The King undertook to send a regiment to subdue the Iroquois so that their inroads should cease; and in this year, 1663, M. Dumont arrived. He was in command of a hundred soldiers, and two hundred colonists likewise accompanied him. M. Dumont was expressly charged with the duty of examining the country, and of reporting upon its character and capabilities. His report has not been found. Enough is known of it to infer, that it was most favourable, and that it had great influence in determining events as they afterwards shaped themselves.

It was on the 5th of February, 1663, during the carnival, that an earthquake took place. It commenced about half-past five in the evening. The first shock was followed by a loud, continuous noise, succeeded by a multiplicity of sounds, and

by an irregular movement of the ground, at one time trifling and slight ; at another serious and threatening. At one time it sounded as if fire were raging, followed by the rattling of musketry, succeeded by long and alarming peals as of thunder. The sounds then changed to the roll of breakers on the shore in a tempest. The soil moved up and down so as to cause general terror. Doors opened and closed. The bells of the churches from time to time sounded as if rung by design. Many houses tottered, and the furniture of the rooms became displaced. Chimneys fell. Walls were rent. The heavy timbers in the buildings cracked. Where there were palisades, they were raised up and displaced. One of the most remarkable of the phenomena was, that the ice of the river, at that season from three to four feet thick, was broken up into floating masses, drifting here and there. The domestic animals evinced the greatest fear, the dogs howled and moaned in their terror ; and, what at Three Rivers was a strange event, was the presence of a shoal of porpoises, rarely seen there.

Several shocks succeeded. Thirty-two were counted, six only were of a decided character. The movement extended from Labrador to the Ottawa, passing thence to New York and New England. The shocks were not everywhere alike in character. They were most frequent at Tadousac, two or three occurring the same day ; and on the Laurentide mountains, back of the Saint Lawrence, noises were more frequently heard and the movement more noticed.

At Three Rivers the atmosphere became insupportably heavy. Although in mid winter, gusts of hot air were continually felt on the night of the 5th and 6th of February. Smoke and showers of sand were cast from the river in front of Quebec. At Tadousac cinders fell to the depth of an inch. A number of meteors appeared in the heavens, to which tradition assigns an extraordinary character, and during the following summer there were periodical exhalations of warm vapour to destroy vegetation.

The material consequences were serious. It is reported that above Three Rivers, on the Saint Maurice, steep hills

were thrown from their site, and with the trees on their summit, were cast into the stream, damming back the water; the stream thus diverted in its turn, undermined masses of earth which fell into the river. Consequently the discharge of the northern rivers into the Saint Lawrence changed the colour of the water for months, and the banks of the rivers were much affected by the same cause.

From Cap Tourmente to Tadousac, changes in the contour of the land took place. Near the Bay of St. Paul, a hill three-quarters of a mile in length was displaced, to fall into the river and there form an island. The spot to this day is known as "Les Éboulements." We are told that near the Point aux Alouettes a whole wood slipt into the water, above which, for some time the tops of trees projected.

If the descriptions are exaggerated there is an agreement in their statements, and the fair conclusion seems to be that the account we possess is generally correct. The loss of no life is recorded. Nor have we the destruction of a house named. The scattered and limited condition of the population may account for this fact.

As in all convulsions of nature, there were many who recognized in the proceeding only the chastening hand of God; many believed that it was the punishment of the people for their wicked, unscrupulous pursuit of gain in persevering in the sale of brandy to the Indians. Many good men saw in the earthquake the visible interference of the Creator to protect his church; vindicating the Bishop in his excommunications, which impious men had despised, and awaking remorse in those whose conduct had driven the saintly Bishop to France. It was the fulfilment of the anathemas which he had uttered. It was a lesson read to the profligate and vicious to mend their lives; a warning of the future torment which in another life follows the unbeliever, the scoffer, the neglecter of church sacraments. The accounts of the day are full of these views, and are found side by side with almost scientific descriptions of the action of the earthquake, which the student of the science of seismology may profitably

peruse. These superstitious and strained explanations of causes natural to the physical life of the globe, however imperfectly and unsatisfactorily they may be explained, throw light on the tone of thought in Canada at this time.

In the middle of September, 1663, M. de Laval returned to Canada. Louis XIV., then a young man of twenty-five, had received the Bishop with much consideration. He acceded to the request that M. d'Avaugour should be recalled, and the Jesuits were called upon to recommend a successor.* The choice fell on M. de Mésy, who accompanied M. de Laval to Canada, to assume the Government.

One important event had taken place while M. de Laval was in France. The 'Cent Associés' abandoned their charter to the King. Canada became a portion of the royal domain ; a royal province; an integral portion of the Kingdom of France beyond the seas. At a meeting held the 24th of February, 1663, it was resolved unanimously to restore to the King the property and lordship of New France, trusting to his equity and justice to satisfy any claim of indemnity the Company might possess. In March following the transfer was accepted by the King. Thus the Royal control of France was established over Canada to remain for a period of ninety-two years and seven months.

The first act of the King was by the Edict of April, 1663, to constitute a Sovereign Council, empowered to carry on the Government of the Province, to administer justice and to be supreme in matters of police and trade. New France thus became a Province. Quebec was constituted a city. There was hereafter to be a strong Government maintained by a sufficient force. At this date the population of the whole of Canada did not exceed two thousand five hundred souls, of which eight hundred, including the garrison, were at Quebec. Sixty years had passed since Champlain had laid the first

* Instructions to Talon, 27th March, 1665. Les Jesnites firent tant de plaintes contre le Sieur Baron du Bois d'Avaujour. . . . que le roy pour leur donner satisfaction se resolut non seulement de le rappeler mais mesme de leur laisser le choix d'un autre gouverneur.

foundation of the country. The career of the settler had been a constant struggle, with the daily risk of his life. The small population which remained, for many left the country, had shewn high qualities. History has scarcely a parallel to these few thinly inhabited scattered communities, holding their own in the face of the continued difficulties and trials, experienced by them. This handful of men and women will ever command respectful mention. It is in the light of their so maintaining their ground in the face of little hope of aid, that they must be considered.

It was owing to the new blood thrown into Canada, and to the vigorous policy adopted, that it emerged from its petty, struggling condition. Had the fortunes of the colony been wisely conducted they would have taken permanent form: it is not impossible that a power would have been established which might have given a different character to the language and form of religion in the territory west of the Alleghanies, to that which at this hour it possesses.

1670.

MEMOIRE DE L'EVEQUE DE QUEBEC.

L'Evesque de Québec représente que les commerçans de France envoyent les cōmis protestans, que depuis longtems le clergé en a faiet cognostre les inconveniēns et par rapport à la religion et par rapport à l'Etat.

A l'égard de la religion l'Evesque de Québec assure qu'ils tiennent toujours discours séduisans, qu'ils prêtent des livres, el que quelques fois, mesme ils se sont assembléz entre eux ; qu'enfin il a cognissance que plusieurs personnes en parlant honorablement, et ne se peuvent le persuader qu'ils soyent dans l'erreur.

En examinant la chose du costé de l'Etat, il paroît qu'elle n'est pas moins importante. Toute le monde sçoit que les protestans en general ne sont par si attachez à sa Majesté que les Catholiques.

Québec n'est pas bien loing de Boston, et aultres villes angloises ; multiplier les protestans dans le Canada ce seroit donner occasion pour la suite à des revolutions. Ceulx qui y sont, n'ont pas paru prendre une part particulière au succès des armes de sa Majesté ; ou les a vu répandre avec un certain empressement tous les petits contremps arrivez.

Une défense aux commerçans françois d'envoyer des cōmis Protestans suffiroit pour remèdier à l'abus.

Collection de Manuscrits de la Nouvelle France. Quebec, 1883, Vol. I., p. 204.

BOOK III.

FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF M. DE MÉSY, 1663, TO THE
EXPEDITION OF DE LA SALLE TO THE MOUTH
OF THE MISSISSIPPI, 1682.

CHAPTER I.

The visit of M. de Laval to France was successful. He obtained much which he had desired; with the exception that the promise of his future appointment to the Bishopric of Quebec, not the appointment itself, was the one unfavourable result of his mission. His letters establish that this arrangement caused him anxiety; and eleven years were to elapse before he was to reach this object of his ambition. His representations had led to the recall of the Governor who had set him at defiance. To avoid future complications the Jesuits* had been called upon to name a successor, and M. de Laval had taken part in the selection. He had been appointed to the Abbey of Maubec, the revenues of which were devoted to the support of the Bishopric, and in the receipt of which he was immediately placed: the commencement of wealthy dotations which, during his life, he transferred to the Seminary of Quebec.

Cardinal Mazarin had died in March, 1661, when Colbert succeeded him as Comptroller of Finance. The difficulties which had arisen in the first years of Colbert's appointment with the farmers of the Royal revenue had not permitted him to give that attention to the development of Canada which subsequently distinguished his administration. He had been but a few months in office when M. de Laval arrived in France in September, 1662: at that time important matters, to some extent affecting his own position, compelled the Minister to concentrate his efforts upon home policy.

Colbert was born at Rheims, the 29th of August, 1619, of a respectable bourgeois family. At the age of sixteen he was

* Instructions au Sieur Talon, Intendant, 27 Mars, 1665. See note p. 293. It is in this paper we learn the death of M. d'Avaugour: "M. d'Avaugour a été tué en defendant avec beaucoup de valeur le fort de Serin contre les Turcs sur la frontière de Croatie."

sent to a merchant's office at Lyons. After passing some time in this occupation, he obtained by the aid of an uncle an appointment in the War Office, in which position he was brought into communication with Michel le Tellier. The latter was so struck by Colbert's talents and address, that the Minister attached him to his personal staff. In this position Colbert acted, drawing up notes for Mazarin and in time he was selected to present them, and receive the Cardinal's instructions. His abilities thus became known to Mazarin, who transferred him to his own department. At twenty-seven, Colbert was appointed Councillor of State. When, in 1651, owing to the intrigues against him, Mazarin considered it politic to leave France and take refuge in Cologne, Colbert remained true to the Cardinal and kept his patron acquainted with events as they were happening at home. In the year following, when Mazarin returned, Colbert was appointed to a higher office and was brought into immediate relations with the King. During the nine years which intervened before Mazarin's death the young King grew into manhood.

The story has been told how the dying Cardinal, in acknowledging his obligations to the King, declared that he repaid everything in giving him Colbert. He proffered a service less to be recognised when he counselled the King himself to govern. When, some days after Mazarin's death, the Chancellor Seguier, with two Councillors of State, waited on the King, and asked to whom they should address themselves for instructions, they received the laconic "*À moi.*"

It was at Vaux, the 16th of August, 1661, that Fouquet gave his last banquet when '*les Facheux*', of Molière, was, for the first time, produced. It was the luxury visible on this occasion which astonished the young King, and led to the entertainer's ruin. Fouquet was arrested, brought before Parliament, and closed his career by passing twenty years in prison at Pignard: by his fall a career was opened to Colbert.

Colbert was forty-two years old when he assumed the power which he was to hold for twenty-two years. If there be a monument of the vanity of human wishes, it is the sight of

this able and conscientious minister dying a disappointed man, refusing on his death-bed to read a letter from the King, to obtain whose favour had been the principle of his political being. His life had been devoted to his duties : but he had to contend against a vicious system which defied his control. Nevertheless, the reforms which he introduced were extensive and important. He saw that in peace, as in war, the finances had never been consulted in determining the expenditure ; and he pointed out to the King that although the receipts had continually increased they had always been exceeded by the expenses. Colbert's view was that France had no need of her neighbours, and that she, as a country, was indispensable to them. It was this opinion which led him to protect French industry and enterprise, and to develop the national resources on principles, which to-day, by no means find universal recognition.

Affairs were, therefore, in a transition state, when, in 1662, M. de Laval appeared in Paris, and that such was the case was in no way disadvantageous to him and those who sustained him. The personal character of M. de Laval, his observance of all the proprieties of life with the reputation of his austerities, tended to obtain for him respect and sympathy. Moreover, the cause of quarrel, the use of spirits in trade with the Indians, declared to be so pernicious to them, and which he was endeavouring to uproot, with many placed him so indisputably in the right, that his case was won almost as soon as it was heard.

The Jesuits, called upon to name a successor to M. d'Avau-gour, cast their eye on the Sieur de Mésy. He was then Major of the town of Caen, and made a profession of being *dévot*. They believed that in his person, they had found one who would act in accordance with their sentiments. We are told that M. de Mésy declined the position owing to his debts : that the King paid the money, and even gave him a further sum. The authority for this statement is the meagre tradition that it was so rumoured in Quebec,* and accordingly it has so

* Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu de Quebec. pp. 148, 149.

been accepted, M. de Mésy has left no record of such a fact, nor can it be traced to any one having knowledge on the subject. His letter* accepting the position states, that he thus acted, that he might in Canada lead a holy life in furthering the glory of God, the service of the King and the welfare of the Colony.

M. Saffrey de Mésy had in his day been an inmate of the Caen Hermitage. This establishment was composed of religious zealots, for the most part without experience or discretion, who undertook to introduce into a community a new view of religious duty, colouring the faith they were taught, with the extravagance and intemperance of their own opinions. It was held that a particular duty was entailed upon the professors of these views, to watch the teaching of ecclesiastics and civil magistrates ; and, if necessary, to be prepared to crush all who might oppose them in any form. In order to educate the disciples of these opinions, long fasts, austeries, and silent meditation for hours, were enforced. M. de Mésy had passed through this training to the satisfaction of the Jesuits who submitted his name. He was, moreover, known to M. de Laval.

The Bishop of Petrea left France in company with the new Governor, and arrived at Quebec the 15th of September, 1663. No sooner had they arrived than steps were taken to establish the Sovereign Council. On the 18th, five Councillors were named. Rouer de Villeray, Juchereau de la Ferté, Ruelle d'Auteuil, and Legardeur de Tilly. Bourdon was named Attorney-General. These appointments must be attributed to the Bishop, for M. de Mésy, new to Canada, was ignorant as to their character. He acted in other respects in conformity with the Bishop's views, for, on the 28th, an Edict was issued against liquor being sold or given† by any one to the Indians. The punishments of non-observance were a fine of three hundred francs for the first offence, for the second the lash or banishment. It was accordingly plain to

* 27th February, 1664.

† Pas même un coup."

the traders that the Jesuits were again dominant and that a new order of things to that under M. d'Avaugour, was firmly to be established.

Early in July the Secretary of M. d'Avaugour had returned, and he must have brought with him the letters of recall. The Governor did not wait for his successor. On the 23rd July he left Canada.* From Gaspé he penned a memorial to Colbert, giving his views of the Colony. He submitted a system of fortification, and again recommended the attempt to conquer New York and Boston, which he regarded as feasible and certain if undertaken. The King would then be master of America, and the Heretics would remain only so long as it pleased him.†

No troops, in 1663, were sent to Canada ; but one hundred families, consisting of five hundred persons, arrived. The King agreed to maintain them for a year. There had been a famine in France during 1662, accompanied by much suffering, and there would have been little difficulty in directing a large emigration to Canada.

The Governor and Bishop were accompanied by M. Louis Gaudais,‡ who was instructed to return by the Autumn ships, and in the meantime obtain all the information possible. He was created a member of the Sovereign Council to rank next after the Bishop of Petrea, and all the members were called

* Jesuits' Journal.

† N. Y. Historical documents, Vol. IV., p. 12., 4 August, 1663.

‡ The instructions to M. Gaudais, 7th May, 1663, are given, 'Complement des Ordonnances et Jugements. Quebec, 1856.' Vol. III. pp. 23, 27. They are drawn up with care, suggesting that the hand of Colbert was engaged on them. The inquiries Gaudais is called upon to make embrace every subject necessary to a knowledge of the country. The fault was, that no time sufficient to make them was allowed, for it is stated that the sojourn of Gaudais in Canada would not exceed a month or six weeks.

The Editor of this volume, one purely of reference, has taken upon himself to modernize the spelling, and suspicions are created that the text has undergone revision. The proceeding would in no way be tolerated at this date. The alteration detracts from the value of the documents. The book ought to be re-printed in its original form, for it is of value *per se* even at this date.

The secret instructions given to M. Gaudais appear translated in the Historical Documents, New York. Vol. IX., pp. 12, 13.

upon to give him every assistance. His duty was to examine into the condition of New France, the nature of the soil, the crops natural to it, what had been the former Government, to describe Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, their population of each sex, how the people lived, their trade, the means of educating their children, the mode of settlement, the protection adopted against the Indians, the extent of settlement, the quantity of land attached to each house, and the extent of it cleared ; whether the crops were in excess of home requirement ; if there was an absence of women and young girls, so that if necessary they should be sent for wives for the settlers ; to examine into the expenses, the allowance of the Governor, the pay of officers and soldiers, the amount of debt, the condition of the fur trade, and whether it would be advisable in the interest of the inhabitants that the King should entirely control it ; to examine if there were mines, what was the character of the timber, in its applicability for the construction of ships, and whether ships could be advantageously constructed in Canada, workmen being sent out for the purpose.

M. Gaudais was also instructed to note the workings of the Sovereign Council : the matter of religion being in the hands of the Bishop of Petrea was left untouched. He was called upon to be vigilant and active, not to make unimportant observations, but to omit no examination which he considered would be useful. His duty by his secret instructions was to examine into the truth of the complaints of the Jesuits against d'Avaugour, not omitting the conduct of M. de Laval himself.

Had M. Gaudais been an able man, we should be in possession of a valuable report, on the condition of Canada at that date ; and there was much to command his attention. There is none forthcoming. His career was short. Colbert evidently saw his incompetence. He was not again employed : his place was taken by Talon.

Events of a special character took place at this date, which, from the consequences they involved, called for the exercise of honesty and judgment. They still remain shrouded in mystery, owing to the uncertain information we possess regard-

ing them, and it may be said that at the date they occurred they were examined into at Paris with imperfect attention. It was the period of the transfer of New France to Royal control ; the legacy was one which little affected the King's Councillors, and it is possible that Colbert may have given slight encouragement for its close examination. So far as the facts can be presented, the Company directed M. Peronne du Mesnil to proceed to Canada, to examine into their affairs. He arrived in the autumn of 1660, and commenced his investigation during the last years of d'Argenson's rule. Accordingly, he had been three years in Canada when M. Gaudais arrived. Du Mesnil was accompanied by his son, Peronne de Touches, who, in the last days of August, 1661, was killed by a kick* by some person unknown and was buried at Quebec. The father was an advocate of the Parliament of Paris, and had been appointed Comptroller, Intendant and Judge in the interests of the Company. But the Council at Quebec refused to recognise his powers.

When, on the 31st of August, 1661, M. d'Avaugour arrived to assume the Government, he was accompanied by another son of du Mesnil who was acting as his Secretary. The first news which he heard on his arrival was that his brother had met a violent death, and had been buried a few hours previously. There was a strong feeling against the father. He was officially calling to account the oligarchy which ruled Quebec, most of whom, by unexplained means, had become wealthy. Every impediment had been offered to M. du Mesnil obtaining information : but he persevered in his inquiry. What accounts he could obtain he examined, and the conviction which he formed was, that the Company had been systematically defrauded, and that those who were all powerful at Quebec had profited by the system followed.

There is no doubt that the allegations of M. du Mesnil worked their effect on the community during the rule of d'Avaugour for it was in his day the examinations were made. In all directions incompleteness of statement presented itself,

* Tué par un coup de pied par. * * * Jesuits' Journal, 31st August, 1661.

with a failure to account for the monies which had been received. According to this view the leading men in the Colony were more or less implicated, and du Mesnil's examination shewed that large sums remained without vouchers for their expenditure. It was plain that even if no wrong had been committed that there was ground for an inquiry, and that grave suspicion was attached to many in prominent positions.

On the morning after the Governor's arrival, M. du Mesnil waited upon him. The Bishop and M. Gaudais were with M. de Mésy. Du Mesnil pointed out that by the *arrêts* of the 27th of March, 1647, and the 13th of May, 1659, all receivers of public money were excluded from office until they had given a satisfactory statement of the money which had passed through their hands. In connection with this law, he directed the attention of the Governor to Messrs. de Villeray and Bourdon, who were especially named by him as being so circumstanced. Nevertheless, on the following day, they were appointed to the Council.

On the 20th, M. de Villeray, against whom these charges had been made, was directed by the Council to search for papers in du Mesnil's possession stated to have been unlawfully obtained. Between seven and eight in the evening, accompanied by ten soldiers, de Villeray broke open the door of du Mesnil's room. He forced the place of deposit of the papers, and carried away what du Mesnil subsequently described as the narrative of his investigations and the proofs of the peculation of men in office. Du Mesnil was, by force, held on a seat during the seizure. No inventory was made of the papers taken.

The outrage committed, du Mesnil asked the protection of Gaudais as Intendant. Gaudais replied that the proceeding had originated with the Council not with him, upon which du Mesnil stated that he would apply to the King directly for justice. Gaudais called upon him to send in his petition setting forth the facts. The proceedings of the Court of the 22nd of September mention the receipt of this petition. In the former

record he is spoken of as one* Dumesnil Peronne. Here he is named as the Sieur Jean Peronne du Mesnil, accusing the Sieurs, de la Villeray, de la Ferté, d'Auteuil, and de Tilly. Some formal correction was required as the parties named were not now Seigneurs. The petition was referred to Gaudais for report : instructions never acted upon.[†]

The 21st of October was the day named for the departure of the vessels returning to France. To prevent du Mesnil leaving by them, the Council ordered his arrest. He obtained information of the fact and went on board the ship of Captain Gardeur. The vessel was threatened by the guns of the lower battery ; nevertheless, she sailed. Desirable as it may have appeared to hold du Mesnil in Canada, the extreme step of retaining him by force was not attempted. In a *Mémoire* of Gaudais the facts are admitted, with the addition that it was he who prevented the arrest of du Mesnil.

Gaudais had been brought into relationship with the members of the inner circle of Quebec life, all bound together by ties of family and interest, and to assail one was to assail all. Joseph Giffard, son of Robert Giffard of Beauport, was engaged to be married to Michelle Therèse Nau, Gaudais' niece. Her sister was married to de la Ferté, one of the Council accused. Giffard was also surety for de Repentigny, charged with being in debt to the Company to a large amount. Moreover, with the exception of Damours, and the secretary, Peuvret de Menu, the accusations of du Mesnil included every member of the Council. They had also in common the merit of being perfectly orthodox, and supporters of M. de Laval.

* Le nommé. Cons : Souv. Vol. I., page 4.

† The allusion to these names in the Cour Souveraine without a fuller knowledge of the facts is inexplicable. On 13th October, 1663, there is an action of Aubert, Sieur de la Chesnaye against Jean Peronne, Sieur du Mesnil. It is left over until an inventory be made of the papers. On the 18th March, 1664, there is an account of the papers having been opened under protest, and some papers belonging to the estate of the late Martin Grouel were taken out, and an inventory made on loose sheets. On the 20th March, there is an action of Louis Peronne, Sieur de Mazé, against Charles Cadieu Courville for 240 livres, for finishing a house in the lower town. There is little in the proceedings of the Cour Souveraine to throw light on these events.

Bourdon, the Attorney-General, had been baker and gunner of the fort. By his intelligence he had obtained the appointment of collector of customs. He is mentioned in the Relations of 1637, having taken part in the construction of some fireworks for the Fête of the Immaculate Conception. He had accompanied Father Jogues to the Iroquois. In 1657 he made a voyage of exploration, and reached the 55th parallel of latitude, where he had been attacked by the Esquimaux. He had lately established himself at Quebec.

De Villeray is stated to have come out to Canada as valet to de Lauson. One of the scandals of the day was, that he had been taken out of jail in La Rochelle, where he was confined for debt, in order to proceed to Canada. In de Frontenac's day he was reported to be the most wealthy personage in the colony. Whether these persons were innocent or guilty, with the accusation hanging over them, they were not persons to be appointed to the Council, to be composed of the best men. They acted as a clique to give unhesitating support to the faction which nominated them, and it is not to be wondered at that the Governor failed to agree with them. When he recovered from the infatuation of the extreme opinions which he had formed at the Caen Hermitage, he must have seen the precarious character of their support, and how ready it was to be turned against himself. No record shews that these parties were ever purged of the charges made against them. The proceeding of the Council was simply to stamp out the accusation. Nothing could be more arbitrary and unjust than the course they followed. The matter appears to have died away; but those who study the limited documents at their disposal cannot resist the impression that there had been systematic fraud. Even in those days men got rich at Quebec mysteriously. A canker had eaten into official life which lasted the remaining ninety-four years of French rule. The wrong-doing unearthed by du Mesnil may have been exaggerated, but there is ground for belief that there was a sound basis for much that he advanced.

An important change took place with regard to Montreal;

the assumption by the Seminary of Saint Sulpice of the obligations of the Montreal Company. In 1663, there remained but five of its original members. The religious ministrations had been performed by the Sulpicians, and they now prepared to accept the civil obligations of the Company. It was not without hesitation that this responsibility was taken ; for the Seminary, while obtaining the transfer of the grants and property, undertook to pay the debts and fulfil every other existing obligation. That community had already expended large sums to sustain Montreal, and they were to receive as an equivalent the island with the Seigneur and all rights of the first owners.

The transfer was kept secret until the 5th of May, 1663, when M. Souart was instructed to take possession of the settlement and island in the name of the Seigneurs. The ceremony was performed on the 18th of August. The establishment of Canada as a Royal Province affected Montreal. On the arrival of M. de Mésy steps were taken to affirm the Royal authority over that domain. Hitherto the Seigneurs had possessed the right of appointing officers to administer justice. The principle was ignored by the Governor acting on the advice of the Bishop. Twelve days after their arrival, they established a Sénéchal's Court in Montreal, appointing M. Arthur de Sailly, Judge, and Charles le Moyne, Attorney-General, and, on the 18th of October, the appointments were confirmed by Edict. Strangely enough they appear as the joint nomination of the Governor and Bishop.* The Governor of Montreal had hitherto performed the duties of judge, but at this date the Seminary considered it advisable to appoint M. Charles d'Ailleboust to that office.

De Maisonneuve and Souart proceeded to Quebec to represent to the Government the claim of the Seigneurs of Montreal to name their own officers of justice, when de Maison-

* The proceedings of the Conseil Souverain furnish distinct proof that M. de Laval never assumed the name of Montmorency. There is this entry. Especially that of 20th March, 1668, [Vol. I., p. 480,] where he is named in a prosecution to obtain payment of the *dime*.

neuve found that even his own position was assailed. The Council declared Montreal to be under royal authority, and in accordance with these powers, M. de Maisonneuve was re-appointed. Boucher was at the same time named Governor of Three Rivers. The Commission was registered by de Maisonneuve, with the declaration that he accepted it without prejudice to the rights of the Seigneurs ; while Souart, who represented them in Canada, claimed for them the privileges granted by the Royal letter patent of 1664. The reply of the Council was that it was necessary that the titles should be registered. In July, 1664, copies of the deeds were produced. The Council demanded the originals. M. Bourdon, the Attorney-General, was then in Paris ; he was ordered to appear before Daguesseau, the Master of Requests, to verify the copies. He failed to attend. They were, therefore, authenticated, and sent to Canada in September, 1666.

Until this date the Council at Quebec controlled the proceedings in Montreal. M. de Maisonneuve became the Royal Governor, and justice was ordered to be administered in conformity with the edict of the Council. De Maisonneuve however called a meeting of the inhabitants to elect five notables, four of whom in accordance with the ordinance were to lay down police regulations, and that the Judge, M. d'Ailleboust, would consider in appeal the judgment given by them, for any infringement of the law. At the same time the Royal Court continued its operations. It may be said that matters remained in this condition until the arrival of Talon, who, in 1667, placed the Seminary in possession of the judicial rights, which in 1663 had been set aside at Quebec.

The Conseil Souverain was now in full vigour. On the 9th of July an order was passed that members of the Council should visit the shops and examine into the quality of the cloth and of the material sold, and that they should establish the prices to be paid. Merchants were bound to keep a journal, shewing the merchandise sold, with the price asked, whether for ready money or credit. A second book had to be kept setting forth the quantity of merchandise received and how sold, and to whom.

It was likewise necessary to give a specification of the goods sold. It was also ordered that within a month, which was to date eight days after their arrival, no goods should be sold wholesale, only a tenth part of each kind could be disposed of, and they could not be taken out of Quebec within this period. After this date one-fourth could be sold for transportation to Three Rivers or Montreal.

An arrangement so arbitrary could have only in view the benefit of Quebec at the expense of Montreal. As all the Councillors were engaged in operations of one kind or the other, it must be inferred that the regulation was one in no way disadvantageous to them. On Montreal it told injuriously, and caused dissatisfaction. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining provisions and merchandise, it increased the price of them, and generally caused trouble and privation in families, while the profit of this limitation of the right of sale, was enjoyed by those who were carrying on the protected trade at Quebec.

CHAPTER II.

The year 1663 was unusually free from Iroquois attack, and in the neighbourhood of Quebec the cultivation of the land could be peaceably undertaken. But in the autumn, trouble was experienced at Three Rivers when two soldiers were seized and carried away captives. Generally there was less anxiety than had been for some time felt. Montreal, on the contrary, continued to be the scene of Indian attack ; unexpectedly, in May, seven Mohawks appeared to ask for the establishment of peace, to make but one country for the Mohawk and the French. The proposition was suspiciously welcomed, and in proof of its sincerity the demand was made that all prisoners held by the Mohawks should be restored. The offer was accepted. Four of the number remaining as hostages, the other three started to obtain the captives. The four Mohawks were placed in a Huron family. The scene which followed remains unexplained. It is scarcely possible to believe that it sprang from deliberate treachery, and if the result of a quarrel, the facts were not made known. Cries of horror and distress being heard at midnight, a party of men rushed to the spot to find the Hurons lying in their blood : a man and two women. A youth escaped, while three young girls were carried off captives.

The Mohawks took to the forest. So hope of quiet days again passed away. The Iroquois, on their side, became again aggressive, and there was no assurance that any spot was free from their attack. Men were watched from ambush, and when alone were killed or carried off ; and it could never be known where the savage was hiding.

The Iroquois themselves were commencing to pay the penalty of their aggressive policy. They had lately suffered in an attack against the Mahingans, while the Senecas had not

succeeded in their attack against the Andastes. With the Onondagas there was a strong party in favour of the French, an influence which under the circumstances obtained great weight. An embassy composed of Senecas and Onondagas was resolved upon, and with two French prisoners, those constituting it started on their march to Montreal. They were themselves to experience the consequence of their own unrelenting hostility. The Algonquins obtained notice of this embassy, and in force started to intercept it. They placed themselves in ambush and attacked the Onondagas as they were moving unsuspectingly on their way. The ambassadors protested that their mission was one of peace. The Algonquins disregarding what was said, continued the attack and killed nearly the whole number. A few made their way to Montreal preferring to seek safety there to returning homeward. The two French prisoners nearly fell victims in the assault. War was thus recommenced and cruel retaliation threatened.

The condition of the Iroquois however was in no way bettered ; and harassed by the difficulties which arose out of their unsuccessful expeditions peace became to them a necessity. On the 18th of September a deputation reached Quebec. The explanation made regarding the Algonquin expedition had been accepted, and the ambassadors presented themselves on the part of the whole Iroquois tribes to treat for peace with the Algonquins as with the French. M. de Mézy received them courteously, but sternly told them that there had been such deceit on their part that it was not possible to trust them ; and that, if necessary, he had determined to carry the war into their own homes.

There was some feeling of dissatisfaction experienced with regard to the Governor of Montreal. Accordingly, in June, 1664, M. de la Touche was appointed to the command by M. de Mézy ; but no steps were taken to put the appointment in force, and M. de Maisonneuve continued in the position. His name appears in the registers until April, 1665.* M. de

* M. l'Abbé Verréault.

Maisonneuve ceased to be Governor when M. de Tracy arrived in 1665, whatever the cause. The Sœur Morin tells us that he was removed as unfit for the place and rank, which she would not have believed unless so told by Sœur Bourgeois. But she wrote years after the event, and her statement is but slight evidence. The official record sets forth that M. de Maisonneuve desired to proceed to France on private affairs. M. du Puy, who had figured in the Onondaga expedition, then his deputy, was named to command in his absence. Beyond the remark of Sœur Morin repeated second-hand, there is no event to suggest that the truth is other than officially related. The inference is, that no such purposeless insult was inflicted on a man of seventy who had performed such long and good service.

M. de Mésy's rule extended from September, 1663, until his death, the 5th of May, 1665; for a year of this period, a quarrel, inexplicable as to its origin, lasted between him and the Bishop and with the members of the Council who sustained M. de Laval. The acts of antagonism to which the quarrel gave rise are recorded, not the circumstances which led to them. It could not have been on the ground which destroyed the good feeling between M. de Laval and M. d'Argenson. There was no dispute about the seat in church or the *pain bénit*. Even in d'Avaugour's time the troops at the military *reposoir** during the Fête Dieu received the host uncovered and kneeling. Ten days after the establishment of the Council,† an ordinance was passed against giving liquor to the Indians. It has been said that the quarrel arose about points of precedence and dissatisfaction regarding the emoluments of office, which De Mésy had to share with the Intendant. Gaudais, who acted as Intendant, never attended but three meetings of the Council, and left by the last ship, before the quarrel. His presence could have played no part in the dispute. Reference has been made to the want of temper and avarice of de Mésy, suggesting that he had been unfavourably

* Jesuits' Journal, 8th June, 1862.

† 28th September.

known in France by these faults. We must not forget that members of the Council had been charged with defalcations by M. du Mesnil, and in the crisis had been protected by M. de Laval. Human nature in like circumstances is found to present like results. The conclusion is not strained that in any difference of opinion in the Council the Governor found himself outvoted. His career shews him to have been of an impulsive character with little judgment, and whatever the original cause of dispute, he soon placed himself in the wrong. The facts are not easily set forth. The evidence was destroyed ; and it was agreed that the whole should be buried in oblivion. But what records of the Conseil Souverain remain are somewhat of a guide in the narrative.

On the 3rd of February, 1664, de Mésy sent Major d'Angoville, of the Fort, to the Bishop to say that he determined to exclude from the Council the Councillors de Villeray and d'Auteuil with Bourdon, the Attorney-General. Ten days later there is a record on the minutes, that Major d'Angoville had found the Bishop in the Council Chamber, and delivered the paper to him, when he said that it should be left in the record office, and not be made a precedent; and it is added that as the registration of the paper was not ordered, the Governor resolved, himself to make it public. Accordingly, on that day, by beat of drum, he issued a proclamation and had it posted up where such notices were placed. It set forth that he had ordered the parties named not to appear at the Council. He added that they had been appointed at the desire of the Bishop of Petrea knowing them to be his creatures; that they desired to be masters of the Council, and that for their private ends they had acted against the interest of the King and their country. He called upon the Bishop to join in the step he was taking and to assist in calling a meeting to appoint others.

It was an advantage which the Bishop was not inclined to forego. His reply was given on the 16th. It is written with quiet dignity, with temper, and one almost can trace a feeling of contempt for one who knew so little how to be aggressive. He declined to notice what was personally offensive. He did

not even deny the Governor's right to dismiss members of the Council. With regard to the request that he should assist in the nomination of others by public election, neither his conscience nor his honour, nor the obedience which he owed to the will and command of the King, nor the fidelity and love which he bore his service, would permit him to take part in the proceeding, until the parties named in the placard were convicted in a lawful court of the crimes of which they were accused. The Bishop further called for the registration of his reply. There must have been difficulties previous to this date, for the Jesuit Journals tell us that "the misunderstandings continued."* On New Year's day there had been no sign of unfriendliness, the Bishop dining with the Governor. On the day of the Bishop's reply, there was a meeting of Council at which the latter attended, apparently to have it registered. Neither de Villeray nor d'Auteuil were present. The former did not appear at the Council until the 16th of April; d'Auteuil was present on the 29th of March and 3rd of April.

In the dilemma in which the Governor was placed, he addressed a letter to the Jesuits ; it is dated the last day of February. He tells them that his proceedings had been taken up by the ecclesiastics of the country as an offence against themselves, and that one of the principal of them had notified him that the Sacraments could be denied him until he repaired his offence, which had caused him to entertain scruples in his own mind. He, therefore, referred the question to them in order that they should tell him on their conscience, what conduct was necessary for him to observe, in accordance with his duty to the King, and that they should give him their opinion in writing. Lalemant replied that as the dispute fell within the province of the tribunal of conscience and that of civil duty, the Governor must in the first instance refer to his confessor ; on the second point, it was not for an ecclesiastic to decide on what side the wrong lay. Our Lord had refused to give judgment in matters of temporal account.

I do not myself see the signs of religious terror which have

* Continuèrent les Brouilleries. Fevrier,

been traced in this letter. It was written fourteen months before the death of de Mésy, and he was by no means passive in the interval. On the contrary, the quarrel was accommodated and recommenced with some vigour on his part, as will be seen.

Shortly before this date M. de Laval had established the Seminary at Quebec, and in consequence a *mandement* calling for tithes to maintain it, had been issued by him. It had been founded by Royal edict in Paris in the month of April, 1663, and the edict was early inscribed on the records of the Conseil Souverain. It exacted a tithe of a thirteenth of what is produced by the labour of man, and of that which the earth produces of itself, for the benefit of the seminary and clergy. At the same time, in order that the clergy should remain in total submission to their Bishop, their appointment to a parish was revocable at his pleasure, and they were liable to be displaced at any time.*

The Seminary was established as a corporation of priests, capable of holding property. The excessive tithe of one thirteenth of all that the struggling habitant could raise from his farm, of every species of produce, occasioned great dissatisfaction throughout the whole scattered population. Remonstrances were made against it, and these remonstrances obtained the ear and sympathy of M. de Mésy. The *dime* exacted was eventually reduced to one twenty-sixth of the grain raised and thrashed, not in the sheaf; a decision establishing that the first demand was held to be excessive. Although this element in the quarrel is not named it distinctly played its part. If the Governor ranged himself on the side of the *habitants* on account of their poverty, the fact would be

* et pour maintenir tous les ecclésiastiques de ce clergé dans une *totale soumission à leur évêque* et remédier à quantité d'inconvénients que produit quelque fois la stabilité des cures, dont le changement ne dépend point des supérieurs. Nous approuvons et voulons que tous ceux qui seront délégués dans les paroisses églises et autres lieux en toute la Nouvelle-France pour y faire les fonctions curiales et autres auxquelles ils auront été destinés, soient amovibles, revocables et destituables toutes et quantes fois, etc., etc.

Edicts. Vol. I., p. 36.

enough to create dissension in the Council; and we may trace in the wording of the placard, in which the Councillors are styled the creatures of the Bishop, that there is ground for belief that the support which they gave the Bishop took an offensive form. No cause of difference except on this point suggests itself.

Nevertheless, the meetings of the Council continued and public business was carried on. There were nine meetings in March and six in April previous to the 16th. The Bishop was absent but on three occasions. On the meeting of the 5th of March, the Governor demanded that a substitute to the suspended Attorney-General should be named, and he called upon the Bishop to agree to some person, as justice could not otherwise be done. He protested against any delay on the part of the Bishop. The Bishop replied that he could not proceed in this course until the Attorney-General had been found guilty of the crime charged against him. There is a minute of the Governor asking under what circumstances a marginal note had been made. It is recorded that it had been written by the desire of the Bishop when he had half-signed his name. It was to the effect that the remark of the Bishop was not at all to prevent the Governor doing of his own authority, as he claimed it to be what he held to be right.*

On the 12th of March there was a meeting, when Chartier de Lotbinière was appointed substitute to the Attorney-General. The Bishop protested, stating that he in no way authorized a substitute to the prejudice of the rights of the Attorney-General for the causes set forth by him. Eleven meetings were held where M. Chartier officially appeared, therefore there is not ground for the statement that the affairs of the country suffered from the misunderstanding. On the 26th of March the Governor made erasures in his proclamation of the 13th of February, stating that he imputed nothing to M. d'Auteuil, who remained established in his duties of Councillor.

* Et qu'il n'empesche point mon dict Sieur le Gouuerneur de faire ce qu'il aduisera bon estre de sa propre authorité par luy pretendue. Cons. Souv., Vol. I., p. 123.

M. d'Auteuil, accordingly, was present at the meetings of the 29th and 3rd of April. On the 16th of April, there was a reconciliation. All the members were present. The Governor, with his own hand,* erased the record of the proclamation of the 13th of February, with other portions of the minutes, after having re-established matters as they were before the Ordinance; and it is declared that all that had followed remained nul, as if it had not taken place. Chartier, the substitute of the Attorney-General, resigned his position, and the letters appointing him were cancelled. The Council was re-constituted as it had been originally named. M. de Villeray attended in his place. It was intended, apparently, that there should be a new order of things. Certainly, in this case, M. de Mésy shewed himself to be placable and forgiving. Lalemant, the Jesuit Father, was then at Quebec. He was a man of sense and discretion and may have been one of the means in leading to this reconciliation.

The proceedings of Council on the 18th of June, 1664, are not explicable by modern practice. Two letters, one to the King, and one to Colbert, are inscribed on the minutes. They bear the signature of the 'Conseil Souverain.'† They should have been signed by the Governor, the one official means of communication between the Province and the central authority. The Bishop was not present at the meeting, and M. de Villeray is named as having been deputed to prepare the letters in the name of the Council. It was an act of disrespect to M. de Mésy, and had he been rightly advised how to act, he would have placed his opponents in a false position. There was no official object to be attained by these letters having been prepared by the Council, and as the letters read, the thought strikes the reader that their main object was to humiliate the Governor. No one acquainted with political usage at this hour, can fail to see in the signature a studied insult to him.

* Monsieur le Gouverneur a rayé et biffé de sa main. Cons. Souv., Vol. I., p. 170.

† Cons. Souv., Vol. I., pp. 201-206. The signature is "Le Conseil Souverain Estably à Quebec."

The letters recommended that emigration should be conducted in merchant ships in small detachments ; by these means the emigrants would arrive in health, and moreover they could the more conveniently be settled among the old inhabitants. They set forth that for the first year the new-comers were only worth half their wages, 25 to 30 écus yearly, and that they ought to serve three years before land was given them. Hope was expressed for fresh arrivals from France, and some of the usual adulatory compliments were paid to the King. The letter to Colbert recommended that next year money should be sent in the place of provisions. It asked for a prohibition in France of the worsted stuff of "Moscouie and Vigongne," so that the furs of "poor Canada" would continue to be sought after. The only real matter of information was, that it was the intention to take ten per cent. duty off merchandise and to place it on wine and spirits.

Another difficulty arose. When Quebec became a city, it was held that a mayor should be appointed ; and within ten days of the constitution of the Council an order was passed for the inhabitants to meet in the presence of the Council, and proceed to the election. The choice fell on M. de Repentigny, with Jean Madry and Claude Charon as Échevins or Councillors. On the 6th of October, 1663, the Council recorded the election thus confirming it ; and the Mayor and one of the Échevins was sworn in. There is no record of their resignation. They appear to have offered the passive resistance of not acting, for on the 28th of July, 1664, an order passed the Council, the Bishop being present, for the election of a Syndic for Quebec. The result of the election was in favour of Charon. But the choice did not satisfy the party of the Bishop, and an attempt was made to nullify the election ; the proceedings are given in the report of the 19th of September. They set forth that difficulties had arisen in the election of the Syndic ; and M. de Charny, representing the Bishop, objected to further proceedings being taken. He stated that Charon had been elected by a small number of the inhabitants, and that the people were dissatisfied and had petitioned

the Council to the effect that Charon was a merchant, and their interest lay in the price of merchandise being established, whereupon Charon had been requested to resign. It was accordingly determined that another election should be held in the presence of Councillor Damours.

None took place, the inhabitants did not attend, being anxious to avoid hostility with the Bishop. It was the result which was desired. Accordingly, letters were sent to several of those who had the right of voting, requesting them to be present on a given day after mass. They met in the Chamber, when the election for Syndic took place. One Lemire was chosen, and when he presented himself to take the oath, De Charny first called upon Damours to leave the room, as he was Lemire's brother-in-law, and then, sustained by de la Ferté and d'Auteuil, opposed the oath being administered. The Attorney-General seeing no objection to the oath, it was taken.

There had been a preliminary scene on the 13th of August. A minute sets forth that the Governor, seeing that the Sieur de Villeray was endeavouring to form cabals, he was forbidden so to act, and to express his opinion out of his turn. There was a meeting on the 27th, when it was stated that M. de Villeray was about proceeding to France, and steps were taken for the transfer of the monies in his hands, received on account of the advances made by the King to the parties leaving France for Canada, and since repaid. It is plain, therefore, that M. de Villeray proceeded to France of his free will and was not banished by the Governor.

On the day of the confirmation of the Syndic, the 19th of September, the quarrel again broke out. The Governor submitted a memorandum to the effect that the King had given power to the Governor and Bishop at the end of the year to change the Council, if they thought proper. The Governor did not only consider it proper, but necessary to do so; and he had repeatedly so declared to the Bishop, who would in no way recognize the necessity. The Governor had, therefore, in writing called upon the Bishop to act conjointly in

conformity with His Majesty's request ; or if he declined to do so, to furnish the names of twelve parties from which the Governor could himself choose the new Councillors. The Bishop had refused desiring that the Council should be continued as it was until the arrival of M. de Tracy ; a course adopted by the Bishop to maintain the influence which he possessed, as the Council was constituted. All these papers had been sent to the King. The Governor, however, had insisted on some change, and he had declared accordingly that de Villeray, de la Ferté, d'Auteuil, and Bourdon, were no longer members of the Council. The Sieur de Villeray was absent. Bourdon had insolently said that he would not consider himself dispossessed of his office, a course of conduct which had obliged the Government to make him leave the country and treat him with severity, owing to his manifest seditious behaviour. The Sieurs de Tilly and Damours were retained in their position.

It is evident that this paper had been drawn up by the Governor himself or under his direction, for he proceeds to say that if the writing be not one according to the form of one practised in the chicanery, which had been apparent daily in the Council, to impede him in the duties of his office, he had protected himself in a blunt manner, His Majesty not having done him the favour to appoint him as an orator to represent the royal person.* On the 24th of September, Denis, who had been Attorney and Receiver General of the Company, Jacques de Cailhaut de la Tesserie, Deputy Governor and Chief of the Council in the time of d'Avaugour, and Louis Perron de Mazy, son of du Mesnil, who had acted as Commissioner, were named Councillors. Chartier de Lotbinière was appointed Attorney-General. There was a further nomination of a person named Filion as Notary. On the 5th of November a proclamation was

* Et que si ce present escript n'est pas dans la forme d'un praticien la chicanerie qui luy a esté Journellement faictes dans le dict Conseil pour luy empescher les fonctions de sa charge il se deffend à la Caualiere, Sa Majesté ne luy ayant pas faict la grace de luy faire representer sa personne dans le dict Conseil comme un orateur. Cons. Souv., Vol. I., p. 280.

made, as before by beat of drum, and the notices were publicly exhibited at the usual place.

M. de Laval turned the artillery of the Church against these proceedings. On the 29th, the event was the subject of a sermon at the Parish Church. It is customary to represent de Mésy as a weak-minded person who trembled before the ecclesiastical censure of those who opposed him. His position was a difficult one; and what records we possess establish that he acted with courage, if he failed in respect to judgment. The extreme measure taken with regard to Bourdon did not err on the side of cowardice. We know only the facts imperfectly: as the story is given us, it comes to us entirely from writers favourable to the Bishop, who exalt his character at the expense of his opponent. The records of the Conseil Souverain establish the attempt of M. de Laval to obtain power equal to that of the Governor. The first appointments at Montreal were made by their joint authority. This happened in October, 1663, as if the Governor and Bishop were co-ordinate in authority. In the middle of November, the appointments were made by the Council. This difference of language may have arisen from some dispute on the subject. On October the 1st, an order was given to one of the Council, de Tilly, to enquire into the language of the Sieur Pommier during his sermon in the Parish Church against the King's servants; and, at a meeting of the 9th of November, the Governor stated that he opposed the ecclesiastics receiving their allowances until they explained the causes and reasons of their opposition to His Majesty. On the last day of the year the Syndic came before the Council to report an interview with the Bishop. A few days previously he had asked that a *Monitoire* should be published, in order to obtain information concerning those who had concealed their merchandize, dry or liquid. He had waited upon the Bishop, with the request to make it public, which the latter had refused to do, saying that he did not think justice was on the side of the Syndic.

New Year's day came. In spite of all these difficulties, courtesies were observed. The Governor sent the money due

to the ecclesiastics and to the Bishop, the payment of which he had opposed, and there was an outward shew of civility. The entries in the Jesuit Journals convey the idea that there was no positive denial of the rites of the Church, although M. de Mésy was complaining of being refused confession and absolution. "Our answer was," runs the entry, "that God knows everything."

M. de Mésy was a sincere Roman Catholic, and any dispute involving religious censure must have been painful to him ; but there cannot be a doubt that he was sustained by the feeling that he was performing his duty.* Both parties had sent their view of the case to Paris. Each was awaiting the arrival of de Tracy. Early in the year de Mésy was taken ill : the last meeting of the Council which he attended was on the 10th of December. On the 7th of February there was a meeting at the Chateau, where he was present, to consider the petition of Madame d'Ailleboust, widow of the former Governor, to receive a loan of four hundred livres which was granted. It was soon known that his illness would prove fatal and the struggle in which he was engaged became of little importance. By the end of Lent he had reconciled himself with the Church, and the Jesuits tell us that it was effected through their means. It was evident that death had laid his hand on the sick man. M. de Laval saw that no further struggle was necessary, and like most able men, he was only implacable when he was opposed, and peace was made between them.

The will of M. de Mésy, which is extant, is often mentioned as a mark of his broken spirit and his weak nature. It is a production of his date, and of a man of his tone of thought, who had become impressed by the emotional religion which he had learned at the Hermitage. He leaves his soul to God and the Virgin, and begs all the Saints, some of whom he names, to intercede for him with our Lord to accept his poor

* Mr. Parkman surmises that he had received secret instructions not to sacrifice any portion of the royal prerogative. It was a subject on which Louis XIV. was sufficiently sensitive. The fact is traceable in his letters relative to the establishment of the Bishopric of Quebec. Both Gaudais and Talon were instructed to note the conduct of M. de Laval and the Jesuits.

soul. He wished his body to be buried in the cemetery of the poor, his heart to be sent to Caen. He bequeathed money to the religious institutions and three hundred livres to the poor of the country, placing the distribution in the hands of M. de Laval. Money was left for masses, with legacies to some of the Councillors, among whom was M. de Villeray. His sword and his coat of English cloth, he bequeathed to d'Ango-ville. There were other legacies. Before his death he wrote to de Tracy, stating that his only desire had been to perform his duty to the King. He left papers with de Tilly to shew what had passed between the Bishop of Petrea, the Jesuits and himself ; and he placed his reputation in the hands of the new Governor. He died on the 5th of May, 1665.

The dying Governor left authority appointing M. de la Potherie to act in his place after his death. It was registered on the 13th. On the 27th of the month it was resolved that it should not be accepted as valid, the Governor having no power to nominate the Chief and President of the Council. It had been previously brought to the attention of the Council by the Attorney-General that he had learned that several papers of consequence, which the late Governor had reserved to be submitted to M. de Tracy, had been concealed, torn, and burnt ; and that those who had the charge of them had boasted that the papers would not now be found. M. Damours was appointed to inquire into the matter.

The reports sent by de Mésy to France have not come to light. Were they destroyed in the troubles of the revolution ? We have his own word that they were written. Against his statements were the arguments of his able antagonist, M. de Laval, a practised writer. The Jesuit Relations are reticent of what then took place.

De Mésy's want of political sagacity, and his absence of training in public life, led him to the fatal mistake of banishing Bourdon. Nothing could have been more unfortunate. It at once called forth the reprobation of Colbert.* But his letters

* De sorte que cette conduite violente ne pouvait être approuvé du roi. Colbert, 27th March, 1665.

had weight. It is so stated by the biographer of M. de Laval, the Abbé de la Tour, who may be accepted as an authority on this point. He relates the false impressions created by de Mésy, of the Bishop and Jesuits, which caused the latter to be suspected of being desirous of interfering in the Government, public and private, of the Colony and families. An impression which remained for years, and which the Abbé fears may never be removed. Had de Mésy not committed this error, he might have set at defiance the mission of M. de Villeray, for he was not the representative of violence exercised personally against himself. Bourdon arbitrarily sent back to France was a living example of the undue exercise of power.

Whatever opinion might be held of the cause of quarrel, it had to give way to the sense of de Mésy's unfitness for his position. The duty of a Governor is not always to act with philosophical right. Often complications arise, when the judgment is more exercised to avoid future difficulty, than to do what is claimed to be justice. It seems hard to record such an opinion, but who is there who having taken part in active political life will deny that in cases, let us hope exceptional cases, the quality of the yew is more valuable than that of the oak. It becomes a duty in such an emergency, not to consider the cause or the object of the dispute, but to settle the difficulty as quietly and as effectively as possible.

The composition of the Conseil Souverain was one to lead to complications in case of divergence of view between the Governor and the Bishop. It conferred power on the two jointly to elect five Councillors for one year's tenure of office and, at the expiration of the period, to replace objectionable members by new nominations, or to retain them in office as was felt to be expedient. So long as the two were in accord, everything went on smoothly. But, in case of difference, who was to yield? When this difference took place, M. de Mésy argued that as he filled the first place, his views should prevail; and so he acted, removing at the end of the term the Councillors whose tenure of office he held it unadvisable to renew. Who

will to-day say that he was legally wrong, when custom and not special provision by law governed the decision?

Whatever technical right de Mésy possessed in any quarrel, M. de Laval was unassailable. His predecessors had experienced the fact. With the influence of the ecclesiastics against him, M. d'Argenson had not been re-appointed to his post : M. d'Avaugour had been re-called, when he was Supreme in the Council. In the trial of strength, under the conditions in which the Colony was placed, everything was on the side of the Bishop, and he could count on the support of those who are always found with the strongest party.

It was resolved to re-call de Mésy. M. de Tracy was appointed Viceroy over the Transatlantic possessions of France, and de Courcelles Governor of Canada. The feeling must have been strong against de Mésy, for they received authority to examine into the complaints against him, and if they found them well founded, to place him under arrest and send him a prisoner to France to undergo his trial. Nevertheless, the instructions which were given to Talon, written before de Mésy's death,* warrant the belief that the opinion was entertained, that he had some justification to offer, and that the Jesuits had "assumed an authority entirely beyond their legitimate calling which ought only to extend to the conscience."

It was not an easy matter to probe through the intricacies of this complicated dispute. Indeed, it was scarcely necessary to do so. The problem had ceased to require solution. The death of de Mésy had closed the drama. Accordingly, Talon wrote on the 4th October, 1655 : "It has not been deemed proper to proceed against M. de Mésy after his death, the Bishop and other individuals whom he offended by his behaviour taking no steps in the matter. We are of opinion MM. de Tracy, de Courcelles, and myself, that His Majesty would not be sorry were his fault buried with his memory." The following year Colbert approved this course.

What was this fault? The want of political sagacity when

* 27th March, 1666.

brought face to face with an astute antagonist who never mistook the tone of argument necessary to the occasion, the situation and the men to be addressed. De Mésy acted unbecomingly, and erred technically and legally. But he had endeavoured to perform his duty as he understood it. He had not made himself the centre of a clique. He had not abused his position to become rich. He declined to lend himself to ecclesiastical domination. There is no accusation against him, that in the commerce of life he did not behave as a gentleman. On the other hand, there were a small knot of men at Quebec who found the state of things pleasant and profitable, who wanted no change. To such as these, M. de Mésy was objectionable. A struggle arose who should prevail, and de Mésy in no way shrank from the contest, however painful and distasteful. Yet his name has been put forth as that of a weak, incompetent man, whose desire of enriching himself was foiled, and whose life was a struggle between weak superstition and uncontrollable bad temper.

Talon's task to examine into the dispute was embarrassing, and it was not politic for the new Governor to commence his duties with a quarrel, and that quarrel with the ecclesiastics. The Bishop himself was still Vicar Apostolic, it was also wise on his side not to raise perplexing questions as to his fitness for the coming Bishopric. On all sides it was desirable to throw a veil over the past. To Talon especially. So the narrative of the quarrel was set aside for an epigrammatic sentence. But, however desirable this settlement may have been at that date, the question must ever arise in history, if this course was an act of justice to that memory with which the fault was to pass away.

CHAPTER III.

In the autumn of 1664, the Marquis de Tracy was appointed to visit Cayenne, to proceed to the Antilles, and thence to Canada, to examine into the difficulties which had arisen in the Colony. He received the rank of Lieutenant-General, with power over all Governors and Generals in command, and was accompanied by two ships of war, and four companies of the Regiment Carignan-Salières, with a suite of young men of rank. The vessels left La Rochelle on the 26th of February, 1664, and sailed to Cayenne, where de Tracy received the territory from the Dutch. Leaving M. de la Barre as Governor, he visited the islands of Guadalupe, Martinique, and San Domingo, and reached Quebec on the 30th of June, 1665.

He landed in state, and the force was one to command respect. The four companies, with their advanced guard, and the personal staff, caused astonishment in the small community, and their presence is related in all the language of enthusiasm. M. de Tracy was for some days indisposed and he appeared at no meeting of the Council until the 6th of July, when his commission was registered. The proceedings were signed by himself. On the same day the edict establishing the West India Company was also registered. It was the last day of meeting of de Mésy's Council.

M. de Tracy found that four companies of the Carignan Regiment had arrived a few days previously to himself. Shortly afterwards, Bourdon returned from France; he accompanied some young women sent out by the Queen, who had been placed under his protection. A dozen horses also arrived by this vessel, with the exception of the one which reached Canada in 1647, the first of these animals which came from France; important accessories in view of the help they were to give to the agriculturist. In the middle of August, four

companies arrived, with the Colonel, M. de Salières ; and, on the 12th of September, the Governor, M. de Courcelles, and the Intendant, M. Talon, with additional troops reached Canada.

The total force consisted of twelve hundred men. Many of these soldiers afterwards settled in Canada and we can trace them as the progenitors of several French-Canadian families now in prominent positions. The regiment had been raised in Savoy for the King's service, under the Prince de Carignan, of the family whence proceeds the present King of Italy. It had been sent by the French King as a contingent to the Austrian army in the war against the Turks, when it performed good service. It was subsequently strengthened by the incorporation of other companies, and placed under the command of Henri de Chapelas, Sieur de Salières, whose name was attached to that by which the regiment had hitherto been distinguished. In Canadian history it is known as the Regiment Carignan-Salières.

No time was lost by M. de Tracy. Within three weeks from his arrival he had taken steps to commence operations in the construction of forts on the River Richelieu by which the Mohawks obtained access to Canada. Four companies, those which had first arrived, were ordered to Three Rivers, as the base of his operations. They were accompanied by one hundred of the militia, under M. de Repentigny, and a force of Indians. The three forts determined on were commenced. The first was on the site of the fort previously constructed by M. de Montmagny, at the junction of the Richelieu with the Saint Lawrence, abandoned from want of means to maintain, and men to garrison it. Its completion was assigned to M. de Saurel, with five companies. The second was at the foot of the second rapids of the Richelieu after leaving Lake Champlain, on the west side, where the fine sheet of water known as the Basin of Chambly, opens out. The third fort was at the foot of the first rapids, Saint Therèse.

The second of these forts was placed under the command of M. de Chambly, and, although at that date called Fort St. Louis, it has always been known by the name of its builder.

The third fort was under the charge of M. de Salières. These works were pushed on with such activity that they were rapidly completed. M. de Salières even sent an exploring party to examine Lake Champlain to report upon the site necessary for an additional fort. Saint John's, at the head of the rapids, suggested itself, hereafter to become a military station, to remain so to this day. For the moment, its construction was not considered necessary. It was thought more expedient to fortify an island in Lake Champlain, south of the mouth of the River Chazy. This fort, known as Fort St. Anne, was constructed the following year by M. de Lamothe : the island still retaining his name. It was this island which formed the basis of de Tracy's operations in September and October, 1666.

During the autumn months the works were visited by de Courcelles. It was too late to commence operations on the Mohawk, for no preparations had been made ; so the troops were settled in winter quarters. M. de Salières was placed in command of a detachment at Montreal. The avenues by the Richelieu were thus closed to the Iroquois and the country obtained comparative quiet. Early in the season there had been attacks by the Indians, but the several garrisons furnished a guarantee that whatever might be attempted, would be simply against individuals taken by surprise.

The West India Company, which had been registered, was another of those mischievous charters which was to paralyze effort and enterprize. It possessed a monopoly of trade for forty years. It received a grant of what was called New France, from Hudson's Bay to Virginia, and Florida : Western Africa from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope : South America from the Amazons to the Orinoco, with the trade of the Indian Islands. To some extent it was mere power upon paper, and a caricature of authority. But registered and enforced, it controlled the whole of the trade of Canada and destroyed what liberty in this respect had been previously enjoyed. By the terms of the charter it was distinctly enacted that the Company alone could carry on trade. They only could bring to Canada what was required, and what was to be

bought ; and carry away what was to be sold. The original edict was issued in Paris in May, 1664. In 1665, M. le Barrois arrived and petitioned de Tracy on the subject ; stating that a quantity of furs had been diverted and fraudulently placed on ship board, and asking that the parties appointed to examine into such matters be permitted to do so by captains of ships, and that no one should be allowed to visit the ships between eight in the evening and four in the early morning. The petition was granted. A second petition was sent by M. le Barrois, asking that the Company should be recognized as Seigneurs of the country, with full rights ; that the members of the Conseil Souverain should be named by its representatives ; that the Agent General should take his place in the Council after the Intendant ; that the costs of Government should be paid by the Company, the Company receiving one-fourth of the beaver and a tenth of the moose skins sent to France, with the monopoly of the trade at Tadousac ; the cost of government being estimated at forty-eight thousand nine hundred and fifty livres ; that no embarkation of skins should take place without the tax being paid, and precautions were set forth how the privileges should be enforced ; that Mr. Chartier should be named Lieutenant of Quebec to determine civil and criminal cases, and be entrusted with the charge of police and navigation ; and that the Company should have all the prerogatives of seigneurs, including the pew at church.

Talon had the courage to remonstrate against the establishment of this Company. In a letter to Colbert, he expressed the opinion that the King would do better by holding the Seigneurie and the commerce of the land in his own control ; that the Company would make their profit, but would impoverish the colony, and that in a few years it would have less population than it then had. Colbert replied, that it was not advantageous to depopulate France in order to build up Canada to become a powerful State, consequently the Company remained in the enjoyment of its privileges.

During the season several arrivals from France took place. In October there were eighty-two women and girls, fifty of

whom were from a charitable institution in Paris, where they had been educated ; there were also one hundred and thirty workmen. Upwards of eight hundred souls reached Canada during the year ; including the twenty-four companies of the Carignan Regiment, the population had been doubled.

One of de Tracy's earliest duties was the establishment of the Civil Government. The Council, after the death of de Mésy, had continued its meetings, but the Bishop had not attended. During May and June, the ordinary business had been transacted. Between the 6th of July and the 27th of September no meetings were held. The constitution of the Council which placed the re-appointment of Councillors jointly under the authority of the Governor and of the Bishop, owing to the non-identity of view on the subject had been the main cause of difference. The year had elapsed on the 13th of September. All that was needed to re-establish matters, was to recall the Councillors who had been dismissed. This course had been followed, when the Commissions of de Courcelles and Talon had been enregistered. De Villeray, de la Ferté, and d'Auteuil, again took their places. Bourdon was re-nominated Attorney-General. There was no meeting of the Council until the 6th of December, 1666, when a new name, de Gorribon, appears, next in the list to de Villeray ; M. d'Auteuil is not named, his place having been taken by de la Tesserie, one of de Mésy's nominees. It may be stated here as suggestive of the spirit of compromise which prevailed, that in January, 1667, de Lotbinière, who had accepted office as Attorney-General, when Bourdon was dismissed, was appointed Civil and Criminal Lieutenant for the City of Quebec in accordance with the request of le Barrois.

The arrival of troops had extended from the 17th of June to the 12th of September. As they arrived, they were set to work to construct flat-bottom boats, of so light a character as to be capable of being carried across the *portages* ; and, as pre-arranged, the detachments were forwarded to their destinations on the Richelieu. They had enjoyed good health. It was not the case with the last division which arrived in Sep-

tember with M. de Courcelles. After leaving Tadousac, some malady attacked them, and upwards of one hundred were seriously ill. From want of accommodation at the hospital they were for a time received in the church, which was turned into a sick ward.*

When de Courcelles in the autumn, visited the ground, he saw, with the eye of a soldier, that Montreal could be brought into the combination, by the construction of a road sixteen miles in length, from the foot of the current to Chambly. It was the first road of the character made in Canada. Although the season had passed away without any expedition having been undertaken, a great deal had been effected in the way of work and discipline, and the measures which had been taken, foreboded evil to the Iroquois. They could not have failed to see that events had taken a new turn. It was no longer the feeble garrisons of Three Rivers and Montreal with which they had to contend. We may take it for granted that, while the work of constructing the forts was being carried on, it was well weighed if an attack were practicable. No attempt was made to interfere with the working parties. By November the forts were completed, and such was the freedom of the river from Iroquois attack, that the body of Père François du Peron, who, after thirteen days' illness, had died at Chambly, was brought to Quebec to be buried. At this time, also, a man who played a remarkable part in the annals of Canada, passed away; the Père Simon le Moyne died on the 24th of November, 1665, at the Cap de la Madeleine.† He will

* Father le Mercier, who writes the Relations of the year, tells us how twenty heretics out of these twelve hundred soldiers were with labour converted. One was especially affected, by unknowingly swallowing in his gruel some of the pulverized remains of Jean de Breboeuf's bones, placed there by a zealous nun. The effect was instantaneous. The recalcitrant Protestant became a perfect lamb under the new teaching.

† The date of the death of Père Simon le Moyne is taken from the Jesuits' Journal. The Relation of 1666, p. 5, speaks of Garacontie offering condolence to de Tracy on his loss, at a meeting in October; a month previous to his recorded death. Some allusion may have been made to Le Moyne, for he was much liked; but if the speech attributed to Garacontie was ever made, it must have been on some other occasion.

always be remembered as the first recorded European who ascended the Saint Lawrence. Possessed of remarkable ability, courage and tact, he must ever retain an honourable place in Canadian annals.

On de Tracy's arrival a deputation of Hurons had waited on him. They had been followed by the Algonquins. The expression of their devotion had suggested to de Tracy, the organization of an Indian contingent to assist in the construction of the forts. In October, the Onondaga Indians, with Garacontie, presented themselves. Their orators asked that the good feeling of the French should be shewn them, and at the same time made the request that the prisoners of their tribe should be released. M. de Tracy promised his protection and gave the prisoners their freedom. He added that he was prepared to act in the same way with regard to the other Iroquois ; but that as there was little to be expected in that quarter, he must continue his preparations against the tribes with whom no peace could be obtained. Indeed, the Oneida Indians had been aggressive in the neighbourhood of Montreal. They had seized a youth, carried him to their villages, and in wantonness burnt him ; they had likewise attacked and destroyed a small party of Algonquins up the Ottawa. The consequence had been that many of the Hurons placed themselves under the protection of the Richelieu forts ; and as this district, owing to the danger which had hitherto attended the presence of hunting parties, was virtually untrodden ground, the fur-bearing animals had greatly increased and the new comers were fortunate in obtaining many beaver skins and in capturing much game.

Winter set in, and in the coldest period of the year de Courcelles determined to attack the Mohawk in his home. It was the first of these many remarkable expeditions. January and February are the most severe months of a Canadian winter. The cold, at an exceedingly low temperature, is not continuous. Nevertheless, we have periods of intense frost lasting from three to six days, and there are times when this cold requires carefully to be guarded against ; more especially when accom-

panied by snow-storms, when the wind, in its bitter violence makes itself powerfully felt, rendering it almost impossible to those advancing against it to see their way. In such circumstances, even the hardy *voyageur*, when the wind rushes along with uncontrolled force, finds the ascent of the frozen stream often a painful effort. But in the woods there is protection from the wind, and the cold is less trying. Certainly, it is less felt. A camp is easily made, and with numbers it is soon placed in order. A spot is selected where water can be obtained by breaking the ice of the stream. A resting place is chosen. Two forked sticks are placed upright to support in the two crotches a main beam formed of a young sappling, laid horizontally. From this main beam evergreens, the balsam, the cedar, the spruce, the hemlock, are placed to lie at an angle, resting on the beam, and meeting the ground, to extend perfect covering. The smaller boughs of evergreens are placed on the snow a foot or eighteen inches deep to lie upon. Such a recess will accommodate eight or nine sleepers. A large fire is made in front and kept blazing all night. After the labour of a hard day's tramp, men can sleep well and calmly. An expedition of this character exacts determination and unfailing, patient fortitude. It must be made on snow-shoes, and troops would have to carry their knapsacks, ammunition, arms, and some of their provisions. But use would be made of the long Indian sleigh, the toboggan.

M. de Courcelles left Quebec, with one hundred men, on the 9th of January, 1666. He was at Sillery on the 10th. On the 15th, he reached Cap de la Madeleine, three leagues below Three Rivers, whence he sent orders to the Governor Boucher to have everything prepared for him. He arrived at Three Rivers on the following day, and left on the 18th, with an addition to his force of four officers, eighty soldiers, and forty-five of the inhabitants. He found Lake St. Peter covered with masses of ice, and the wind, rushing over its exposed, unprotected surface, must have cut painfully on the faces of the advancing column. The Canadian volunteers were dressed to meet the cold, with blue coats and beef moccasins,

their feet well wrapped in *nippes*,* and with woollen mits. Cold to them was a national experience, while the French soldiers were imperfectly dressed, and many suffered from it. The march had this advantage. It tested the endurance of those who made it. The weak who had succumbed were sent back to Three Rivers. We are not told that de Courcelles made any halt at Sorel, but he must have done so. The march from Three Rivers to Sorel was forty-five miles, and one of great severity. At Sorel, he was fifty-nine miles from Chambly. At that fort he recruited his force. M. de Courcelles remained but a few hours at any spot. On the 29th he left Fort St. Louis. His column consisted of nearly six hundred men. The road he had caused to be made to Montreal enabled the contingent from that place to join him. It numbered seventy volunteers under the command of Charles le Moigne. On the 30th he reached Fort St. Therèse, the last foothold for relief or aid. He had now to march forward on an unknown path to the Mohawk villages. Fort Therèse was about half-way in the expedition, two hundred and four miles,† and the distance had been made in twenty-two days. There were four days' halt. Accordingly the distance averaged was eleven miles a day, with the hardships of the extreme cold of the season to contend against, the roughness of the unbroken way, and the

* The term still used for the thick woollen wraps round the stockings before the moccasin is drawn on.

† The distances travelled by de Courcelles are as follows :—

	Miles.	Miles.
From Quebec to Three Rivers.....	90	
Thence to Fort Saurel.....	45	
" Fort St. Louis, Chambly	60	
" St. Therèse.....	9	
		204
From St. Therèse to Ticonderoga.....	121	
Thence to Lake George	3	
The ascent of Lake George.....	30	
Thence to the Hudson.....	10	
" Schenectady.....	40	
		204
Total.....	408	

men being heavily encumbered with provisions and arms : no slight effort even for experienced woodsmen. But the French soldiers had been but a few months in the country and never before this winter had known what a snow-shoe was.

The line to be followed by de Courcelles was through the wilderness, with not one league of which he was familiar. At St. Therèse he hoped to be joined by some Algonquin guides. They did not appear. For the time, de Courcelles blamed the Jesuit Father Albanel for their absence, and on his return so expressed himself at Three Rivers. The truth was, that their failure to appear was caused by drunkenness ; probably also by fear of entering the lion's den of their ancient enemy.

If de Courcelles' journey were not well authenticated the facts might be doubted. Later in Canadian history it was made on two occasions. In 1690, by the expedition under de Manteht and de St. Helène, when Schenectady was destroyed ; and by de Manteht and de Courtemanche in 1693, in the raid against the Mohawk towns. At that date the route was known, with its requirements, its dangers, its exactions. With de Courcelles there was the difference that he was the pioneer in this mode of warfare. It was he who worked out the problem and established its feasibility. The spirit of endurance which animated him, and which was then generally called forth, was to mark French-Canadian character for a century.

After the Conquest, the route was followed by Burgoyne, to end in ignominious failure and disgrace, however much the defeat was redeemed by courage. With him, two-thirds of the distance were accomplished on the water, in the season of the year when nature is most attractive and least exacting. It was Burgoyne's reckless incompetence, joined to the total misappreciation of what was necessary to be done, which gave to the world that example of bungling and mismanagement. With de Courcelles every feature was unfavourable : cold, an unbroken path to be passed over on snow-shoes, the way unknown except in its main features, with no basis of supplies,

and with the necessity of carrying every mouthful of food required until their return to Saint Therèse.

The expedition passed along the west shore of Lake Champlain, following its indentations, bivouacking where opportunity offered : eight days' march. Thence the higher land was ascended to Lake George, called in those days Lac du Saint Sacrement, having so been named by the unfortunate Jogues : two hundred and fifty-six feet above Lake Champlain, and thirty miles in length. An additional ten miles brought them to the River Hudson, at this spot running through picturesque scenery in its sylvan character of dale and meadow, perhaps unrivalled. No guide was present to point out to them what course to follow. It was known that the Mohawk homes were on a tributary of the river which they had reached. They had to trust to fortune to find their way to them. The distance to the Hudson had been overcome without difficulty. With no clue to follow, the expedition experienced the frequent fate of the explorer. The men diverged from the course which they should have followed. They bore too much to the south, abandoning the true trail to the Iroquois villages. On the 20th of February, they arrived at what was then the small village of Corlaer, now Schenectady. The distance had been made in twenty days. We have the English record of what followed. We learn that "by mistake of his guides" M. de Courcelles "hapned to fall short of the castles of the Mauhaukes, and to encamp within two myles of Schonectade." The arrival caused a deputation to ask "Monsier Coursell" why he brought "such a body of armed men into the Dominions of His Majesty. Surely," says the chronicler, "so bould and hardy attempt hath not hapned in any age": M. de Courcelles was surprised to learn that the country was claimed by England, and that there was a garrison at Albany of sixty soldiers, with nine pieces of ordnance, under Captain Baker." Those who observed the words and countenance of Monsieur Coursell saw him disturbed in minde that the King was Master of these parts of the country where he expected to have found the Dutch interest uppermost, saying that the

King of England did grasp all America." Provisions were furnished the expedition, payment being made for them. The troops were offered quarters in the village; a courtesy declined by de Courcelles, who preferred to remain in his forest camp. What was equally important, de Courcelles obtained information concerning those he came to attack. What he did learn satisfied him that it would be wise to retrace his steps. He had failed to surprise the Iroquois. His arrival had become known, and his information must have led him to believe that his force was not strong enough to attack in such circumstances, and accordingly he turned his steps homewards. When we consider the numbers with which de Tracy advanced later in the year, we may be satisfied that de Courcelles' experience played its part in the constitution of that force.

In Canada there is generally a January or February thaw; a break in the winter, but in no way its discontinuance. With those acquainted with the country it is no more than a passing phenomenon. There was a thaw on this occasion; as Canadian volunteers were present, no fears could have been entertained for its consequences. What the French had to dread was an attack from ambush, for the Mohawks were on the alert. They knew every acre of the country through which the French had to march; and it was felt that the retreat should be made as rapidly as possible. But it was not to be effected without loss. The Iroquois awaited their arrival and fired from their hiding place. Eleven Frenchmen were killed, among them a lieutenant. Seven were wounded, who were sent to Albany by the way of Schenectady. There was otherwise little serious interruption to the march. Three unfortunate stragglers were seized; one of whom begged he might be killed, as he could walk no further. Five corpses were found scalped. But cold and privation worked their effect on men imperfectly fed, and, as the troops entered Fort St. Therèse, sixty were missing. We read* with pleasure that the greater part of those who were thought lost, rejoined, and were daily coming back.

* Jesuits' Journal, March, 1666.

It may be held to have been fortunate that the expedition failed to reach the strongholds of the Iroquois. Had the right path been taken, and the first village met, the attack would doubtless have been gallantly made. But when we reflect on the season, de Courcelles' want of provisions and the utter ignorance of Indian warfare of the majority of the troops, one cannot but feel that the expédition would have been on the verge of some terrible reverse. The handful of men would have been ill able to cope with the numbers brought against them, numbers by the nature of the attack rendered desperate and dangerous unless the assailants had been sustained by the appliances which civilization confers. But the effort struck terror into the Iroquois. It shewed them that no season was free from the chance of an attack, and that their wigwams were within reach of the French.

In the spring of 1666 Fort Saint Anne was constructed on Ile Lamothe, at the northern discharge of Lake Champlain. The distance is about thirty-six miles from St. Therèse : and here preparations were made for an advance in the autumn.

The expedition of de Courcelles was followed by the consequence that, as soon as the water was navigable, the tribes of the five nations sent an embassy to Quebec. It consisted of Oneida Indians, who declared themselves authorized to treat for peace on the part of the Mohawks and of themselves. They explained the absence of the latter by the fear that they would not be well received. Some Mohawks, however, did arrive, bringing letters from the Dutch, guaranteeing their good faith. On the 12th of July, peace was made. Nevertheless, de Tracy was not satisfied as to its genuineness, and appointed a Commission to proceed to the Mohawks to learn, if possible, the true state of matters. It consisted of M. de la Tesserie and the Jesuit Father Beschefer. It was at this date that the news came of another Iroquois outrage. A party of young officers from the Richelieu garrison had been attacked by some Mohawks, who had fired upon them, having taken them by surprise. Captain de Traversy and M. de Chazy were killed ; four were made prisoners, among them M.

de Leroles, a cousin of M. de Tracy.* The Mohawks, moreover, had lurked round Montreal, and in June had killed three of the garrison who were some distance from the fort. The consequence of this attack was, that some redoubts were constructed at Point St. Charles, at the little River St. Pierre, and towards the Sault St. Louis. The Jesuit Father had reached Three Rivers, when the outrage on Lake Champlain became known, and he received orders not to proceed further. The Oneida Chiefs who were with him were made prisoners. It was not now a peace expedition which was ordered to the Mohawk country, for M. de Saurel was placed in command of a force of three hundred men, and instructed to obtain satisfaction. It contained nearly a hundred Indians. The force immediately took the field.

Lake Champlain had now been partially explored ; and the winter march had given a full knowledge of its western shore to the narrows of Ticonderoga. Therefore, the course to be taken in summer through the woods was generally established. M. de Saurel reached the head of Lake George and was proceeding onwards when he was met by a small party of Mohawks, conducting M. de Leroles and the other prisoners to Canada. They were escorted by the half-breed, the Flemish Bastard, with three other Chiefs. The Indians, in addition to the surrender of the prisoners, were to offer satisfaction for the attack and to atone for the death of de Chazy. As the prisoners were released, the main object of the expedition had been attained. Accordingly, M. de Saurel did not continue his operations, but, with the prisoners, proceeded to Quebec, taking with him the Flemish Bastard and the Mohawk Chiefs. The Algonquins who formed a portion of the force were desirous of exterminating the Iroquois : a proposition, it is hardly necessary to say, at once rejected by M. de Saurel.

* There is still the Chazy River ; and in the nomenclature of Canadian geology, the name is given to a formation of the Lower Silurian. This river is about half way between the Province Line and Plattsburgh. If there be any connection between the name of the river and the incident recorded, the attack probably took place on the banks of this stream.

When the news of the death of de Chazy arrived at Three Rivers and Quebec, the chiefs who were then present were made close prisoners. The arrival of M. de Saurel changed the situation. A Council was held on the last day of August, when the propositions for peace were submitted. The negotiations failed.* Possibly, M. de Tracy felt that there was no guarantee for its continuance, and that it was better to carry out the policy he had determined on, of so crippling the Mohawk power, that whatever their will, they would hereafter be unable to disturb the Colony, and that the French would remain their masters. The deputies were accordingly imprisoned.

Such a proceeding had to be followed by an act of vigour, and as his preparations were complete, he proceeded to carry them out. On the 8th of September definite orders were given for the advance. The arrangements had been made with the usual ability of Talon, and it was held advisable to give a religious character to the expedition. Accordingly, the day of departure was named on the 14th of September, the Feast of the Elevation of the Holy Cross. The Carignan Regiment was attended by its own chaplain. Two Jesuits, in addition, were detailed to accompany the expedition, and Dollier de Casson, the Sulpician who had arrived at Quebec on the 7th, in the midst of the preparations, was instructed to attend the Montreal force.

Previous to the departure of the troops, they marched past the Governor, by whose side the Flemish Bastard had been placed to witness the review. "It is in this way we are going to your country," remarked the Governor, "what do you think of it?" "We are lost," said the listener, while the tears rolled down his cheeks, "but our young men will defend their country to the last extremity, so you will leave many of

* A story is told that when at Quebec one of the Chiefs, at the Governor's table, boasted that he was the man who had killed de Chazy with his tomahawk, on which de Tracy arrested him in the presence of the Company and hanged him in the open air. The story is not authenticated by those to whom we would look to mention it, if true.

your own people behind you." During the period of the expedition, the Bastard enjoyed comparative liberty, being protected by Talon. The other chiefs were kept in close confinement, and were forced to work in making snow-shoes, if necessary to be used in a winter march to attack their villages.

It was not until the 3rd of October that the start was made from Ile Lamothe. M. de Repentigny commanded the Canadians from Quebec; M. le Moyne was at the head of the force from Montreal, consisting of one hundred and ten men. M. de Courcelles, with four hundred men, left a few days before the departure of the main body. There was no difficulty in reaching the head of Lake George. Three hundred flat-bottomed boats and canoes had been prepared, and they paddled their way to Ticonderoga readily enough. The difficulty of the march commenced on leaving the lake. Every one had to carry his knapsack and blanket, his biscuit and provisions, his arms and ammunition. The distance to be passed over may be estimated from sixty to seventy miles through the bush, with a narrow trail, cumbered with windfalls, with a growth of under brushwood among decayed stumps, and all the rough obstacles found in the primeval forest.* There was, likewise, the irregularity of the ground, rock, swamp, and the several minor tributaries to be crossed. These difficulties were more sensibly felt as the French dragged through the bush two small field-pieces.

* I am aware that the distance is named as being much greater. No authority is adduced for the length given. Reference to the map establishes that in a right line from the head of Lake George to the present village of Fonda, on the Mohawk, it is somewhat over fifty miles. Making every allowance for the irregularity of the trail, the additional distance could not have exceeded ten or fifteen miles. Moreover, we have the fact of the time taken which establishes, to a great extent, the length of the march made.

The expedition left Fort Anne on the third. If there be error, it is within the time required, to allow five days to reach the head of Lake George. On St. Therèse day, the 15th of October, they were at the first Iroquois village. This would give seven full days' march. Considering the difficulty of the advance over the broken ground, ten miles a day would be a severe tax on troops encumbered with their provisions and accoutrements. On these grounds, I have estimated the distance as between sixty and seventy miles. The same may be said of the return homewards. De Tracy was in Quebec on the 5th of November.

Whatever the distance which the troops had to march, and whatever the difficulties to be overcome, the expedition arrived at the first village on St. Therèse day, the 15th of October. They were commencing to suffer from shortness of provisions. So much so, that they were glad to find a growth of chestnut trees, so that their hunger could be appeased by that coarse food. Want, therefore, spurred them onwards to make the attack, so that food would be obtained. The news of the advance was known. Some Iroquois had met the Algonquin scouts ; a skirmish had followed, and the Iroquois had fled to convey tidings of the invasion. Hence some resistance was looked for. The troops, therefore, were formed in columns of attack. But the place was deserted. It was taken possession of, and food obtained. A second village was similarly met and entered. A third was tenantless. A fourth equally without inhabitants. It was considered that the work was done, when an Algonquin woman who had accompanied her tribe, came forward to declare that there remained another village. She had been seized as a prisoner when a girl, and now came the hour when she was to act as the Nemesis to avenge the wrongs of herself and her tribe. It was late, but she contended that there was no danger in proceeding to the spot; nor was the road difficult to follow. Her energy communicated itself to others, and she led the way by the side of de Courcelles. Nevertheless, the advance was cautiously made and scouts and skirmishers were sent on to examine the ground. Like the other bouchages, it was deserted. One old man only was found. It was a place surrounded with a triple palisade, flanked with four bastions, abundantly stocked with provisions, with water collected to quench fire. Everything shewed that it had been determined to make a stand, but when the hour came the savage quailed before the civilized man.

Had it been possible to remove the provisions, there was enough to have fed the whole Colony for months. There was maize, beans and Indian fruits. The Indian huts were unusually comfortable, some being one hundred and twenty feet long, capable of housing several families. They had

many utensils and comforts which, from time to time, had been obtained from the Dutch. Here were the homes of the Iroquois. In a night they were to be swept away. What provisions could be removed, the troops carried with them. In each of the villages what was left in the form of food was destroyed or rendered useless. The villages were burned. The country was devastated. The outrages of years were retaliated on those who had perpetrated them and on their descendants, innocent of Iroquois cruelty. The blow was severe, in one sense cruel, but it was necessary, and unavoidable. It was a practical mode of carrying out the saying that "a solitude was created, and it was called a peace." There was no other argument to address to the Iroquois. He had been made thoroughly to understand that he was now confronted with a power possessing strength; and that he could not longer commit outrages in the Valley of the Saint Lawrence. Not only were the passes closed against him, but the road to his own country had been discovered; a route never to be forgotten, and one by which retaliation and punishment were certain.

It came now to be the last days of October, the season of the autumn rains. The march homeward was, as a consequence, more difficult. But, however, rapidly made, it was not a retreat before a pursuing force. It was the leisurely march of a victorious expedition which had accomplished all that it had in view when it first went forward. The force had broken the power of the Iroquois and years were to pass before they again became aggressive. The French had no dead which they were leaving behind. There had been no hard fought field on which the corpses of their own men and those of their enemies lay side by side. The Algonquins and Hurons were without a scalp. But great results had been accomplished. A blow had been inflicted on a troublesome enemy. One mishap only befell the French. The waters of Lake Champlain had not the quiet surface, as when the advance was made, and a canoe was upset, by which eight soldiers were drowned, including a lieutenant of the Carignan regiment.

Leaving a garrison at Saint Anne's, where, during the winter, some suffering was endured, owing to bad provisions and want of forethought, M. de Tracy found his way to Quebec. He reached the city on the 5th* of November. A *Te Deum* was sung at the Cathedral and all was delight and gratulation. The Flemish Bastard was sent back to his tribe, with three other prisoners, commissioned to tell his countrymen that if they recommenced their outrages, French troops would be quartered in the country.

The destruction of the provisions was a serious blow to the Mohawks, for the means of subsistence were taken from them, and famine stared them in the face. It was afterwards stated that four hundred persons perished from want. In the early spring of 1667, parties arrived at Quebec begging for peace. What prisoners the Iroquois held were restored, among them some young girls seized in their youth, who had almost forgotten their language. It was now the turn of the Mohawks to be subservient. They offered to leave hostages for their good faith: they asked for Jesuit priests to be sent amongst them, and accordingly Pères Frémin and Jean Pierron took up the mission with the Mohawks, and Père Bruyas with the Oneidas, and peace was concluded.

Civil life turned now to its former regularity. The Council was officially re-established, as it had been previously to the proceedings of de Mésy, and its sittings recommenced on the 29th of December. Early in January, M. Chartier de Lotbinière, the Attorney-General, after the dismissal of Bourdon, became Civil and Military Lieutenant for Quebec. On the 24th of March, permission was given for the election of a

* Talon, in reporting the expedition to Colbert, 13th November, 1666, said, "that nothing that was possible to be done could have been added to what was effected." With regard to de Tracy, he adds, "that his advanced age must greatly enhance the merit of the service....I am assured that throughout the entire march of three hundred leagues [720 miles] including the return, he suffered himself to be carried only two days, and then he was forced to do so by gout." The march was less than seventy miles, the remaining distance being performed by water; and while making this statement Talon reports that the expedition occupied but fifty-three days. N. Y. Col. Doc., IX., p. 55.

Syndic. All was prosperity and good humour. The troops had brought with them money, which they certainly did not hoard. On all sides there was hope of better days. On the 4th of February the first ball was given in Canada by M. de Lotbinière. "God grant it lead to no result," wrote the Jesuit. Evidently it was a proceeding for which no ecclesiastical consent had been asked, and the record is a testimony that the power which had hitherto been attempted so arbitrarily to be wielded, was not to continue.

We learn, too, that prosperity was leading to crime, for on the 28th of June a coiner of false money was hanged.

M. de Tracy had carried out the duties assigned him. Civil life had been calmed down in its difficulties and disputes. The country had been established on a broad basis of security. The water way by which the Iroquois had reached Canada was no longer open to his advance. The whole of the tribes on the Mohawk had felt unmistakeably the hand of power which had inflicted upon them defeat and privation. M. de Tracy accordingly gave over the government to M. de Courcelles and in 1667 returned to France.

CHAPTER IV.

While the events I have endeavoured to describe were taking place on the Saint Lawrence, changes in the government of the small community which had established itself on the Hudson were being effected which, in coming years, were to lead to results mainly contributing to the destruction of French power in North America. Had they been foreseen in Paris there is little question but the cession of New York to France would have been obtained in the infamous treaty of Dover of 1670.*

It was a question of geography which at this date threw its protection over the English occupation of the Hudson. The connection of New York with Lake Ontario was unknown, or at least misunderstood. The one person who had travelled the route was Father Poncet in his release from captivity in

* "By this treaty, Charles bound himself to make public profession of the Roman Catholic Religion, to join his arms to those of Lewis for the purpose of destroying the power of the United Provinces (Holland); and to employ the whole strength of England by land and sea in support of the rights of the House of Bourbon to the vast monarchy of Spain. Lewis, on the other hand, engaged to pay a large subsidy, and promised that if any insurrection should break out in England he would send an army at his own charge to support his ally." [Macaulay, Vol. I., Chap. ii.]

As early as the 13th of November, 1666, Talon wrote in a memoir to Colbert : "If His Majesty, effecting an arrangement between Holland and England, should stipulate for the restitution of New Netherlands and find it convenient previously to bargain with Mess^{rs}. the States General for it, I think that he could do so, on reasonable terms ; and that country, which is not of much importance to them, would be of considerable to the King, who would have two entries into Canada, and would thereby give the French all the peltries of the North, of which the English have now partly the advantage, by means of the communication with the Iroquois, which they possess by Manatte and Orange, and would place these barbarous tribes at His Majesty's discretion, who could, moreover, approach [New] Sweden when he pleased, and hold New England confined within its bounds." New York Col. Doc., Vol. IX., p. 56.

1653, and to him it had appeared rugged, forbidding and difficult of access.*

The Valley of the Hudson and its tributary, the Mohawk, furnish the one line of easy communication between the sea board and the Canadian Lakes. The Alleghanies extend from Maine to New Hampshire, and thence to Alabama. They trend through Vermont, by the western boundaries of Massachusetts and Connecticut, to cross the Hudson between Peekskill and Fishkill. "The Highlands," so well known in modern travel, here rise to a great height, the river flowing calmly between them, while the range passes south-westerly between Pennsylvania and Virginia. This opening for the passage of the Hudson is a marked geological feature of the country. The range again appears as the Catskill Mountains, and trends westerly to form the southern boundary of the Mohawk Valley. The ascent of this valley is easy to the summit, whence the country descends towards Lake Erie.†

At an early date no such route was known or even supposed. The trader and trapper roamed over the country, but years were to elapse before its true character was appreciated.

* The levels of the Erie Canal establish the character of the country. This Canal, three hundred and sixty-three miles in length, is constructed between Albany, on the Hudson, and Buffalo, on Lake Erie. The mean level of that lake is nearly five hundred and sixty-five feet above tide water. Lake Erie, with what auxiliary water can be gathered, furnishes the source of supply to Port Byron, descending one hundred and seventy-four feet in one hundred and fifty-eight miles of distance. The country ascends in the next fifty-three miles, Rome being on the summit reach, thirty-six feet higher, than the last level supplied from Lake Erie. And it is here, at Rome, that the Canal meets the Valley of the Mohawk, which it follows to the Hudson. It is this fifty-three miles of heightened reach which makes any enlargement of the Erie Canal to obtain *increased capacity of depth* an impossibility. The fall from Rome to Albany by the Canal, which runs by the side of the River Mohawk to the Hudson is four hundred and twenty-six feet in a distance of one hundred and thirteen miles.

The supply of the fifty-three miles of higher level is obtained from the several lakes lying to the south, and frequently there is difficulty in keeping the Canal to its normal level. Generally speaking, the Eastern one hundred and sixty-six miles are also sustained from these sources.

† At Rome, where the height of land is met, there is an easy passage to the Onondaga River, which discharges at Oswego into Lake Ontario.

At that date a Stuart sat no longer on the throne, to permit English territory to be bartered away at the request of a foreign power.*

The Hudson is stated to have been discovered by Henry Hudson in 1609. It is affirmed that it had previously been visited by French traders. If the river itself had not been explored, the coast was known to the English navigators, and was included in the Patents of North and South Virginia, granted by James I. Acting on this patent, the English did not hesitate to expel any settlers they found, as was the case when Argall destroyed the settlement of Penobscot in 1613; and we are told† he visited the few Dutch at Manhattan, who assured him "they would come thether noe more." That the Dutch were in possession at that date, is established by the record of Champlain in his voyage of 1615.‡ He speaks of a friendly nation of the Hurons, three days from their country, who were themselves seven days from the place where the Flemish were in the habit of trading at the fortieth degree. These Flemings assisted the Iroquois in their wars, and three of them had been taken prisoners. The Hurons, believing that they were connected with the French, released them. In 1618, Champlain relates,§ that Etienne Brûlé had met Indians who traded with the Flemings and that they disliked the Flemings, who acted towards them harshly.

A settlement of some character took place at Manhattan, New York, in 1614. It included many French Protestants,

* The route to Lake Ontario by the Valley of the Mohawk at Rome follows a portage of six miles to a creek known later as Wood's Creek, which, in nine miles, passes into Lake Oneida, itself twenty-three miles long, whence the little River Oneida is followed for sixteen miles. This stream discharges into the River Onondaga, twenty-one miles above its mouth at Oswego. The connection long remained untravelled; even in 1750, excepting at Fort Oswego, the country was unsettled. It was in 1727 that Burnet sent up workmen from New York to commence the fort. It must be stated that Oneida Lake is two hundred and seventy miles from New York, and that in the early history of settlement there was no inducement for settlers to leave the Banks of the Hudson for this locality.

† Ogilby's Geography, 1671.

‡ Laval Champlain, p. 521.

§ Laval Champlain, p. 624.

their language being in recognised public use. The enterprize was the result of individual combination, without the direct authority of the State; for when, in 1621, the English Ambassador at the Hague complained of this proceeding to the States General, they replied, that it was without their authority, and that they knew of no colony. It was a matter of private venture. In 1623, the Dutch West India Company was formed, and commenced systematically to establish the Manhattan settlement. They sent out thirty families, composed of Huguenot French, and Walloons. We are told that, when they arrived, they found a French vessel and that they chased her away. We have an official record of their early proceedings, dated the 5th of November, 1626; where we read that the island of New York was purchased for sixty guilders. Children had been born. The settlers had raised grain, of which samples were sent home, and they had despatched a rich cargo of furs, which are specified.* In 1640, some of the inhabitants of New England had established themselves at Long Island, but they were arrested. The Dutch early ascended the Hudson. In the first instance they gave the stream the name of River Mauritius, after Prince Maurice. They had founded the trading post of Orange, now Albany, and another on the Mohawk, to which the Indians gave the name of Corlaer,† Schenectady. It was the advanced post of trade, and was so in the days of Jourges, when traffic was active.

If, during their early days of possession of the country, the Dutch had little self-assertion, the feeling was to give way before the sense of assured power. James I. died in 1625, and in a few months the ill-judged policy of the reign of Charles I. bore fruit in the loss of European prestige. The expedition of Buckingham to the Isle of Rhé and its failure and the domestic troubles between the King and Parliament, with the Peace with France in 1629 so disgraceful to England, suggested to the Dutch that the opportunity was offered to

* N. Y. Col. Doc. I., xxxix.

† After Arent Van Curler. He came to New York, 1630, and was Director of the Colony of Rensselaerwick. He founded Schenectady.

strengthen themselves on the American Continent. The twelve years which intervened to the commencement of the Civil War were marked by the establishment of the New England Communities, and, in 1643, the federation of New England was formed. Even after the King's death in 1649 the unsettled state of feeling at home confined the attention of England to European politics. The first Dutch war, in the time of Cromwell, lasted from 1652 to 1654. At its conclusion no mention was made of any Transatlantic possessions. When Charles II. came to the throne in 1660, although England was still unsettled, the country was sufficiently united for it to revert to its ancient claim: the more so as an antagonistic feeling was arising between Holland and England, capable of developing to a serious quarrel, any difficulty however trifling.

The home dissensions of England had told upon her commerce, as they had affected her insular life. During the civil war the Dutch had laboured to obtain the trade which England had lost. They had been able to undersell England in foreign markets, and the commercial relations of the States were in advance of those of England. Great efforts were made to regain what had thus passed away. A new African Company was formed, at the head of which was the Duke of York, afterwards James II., who, from constitution and religious feeling, was prepared in any way to oppose the Protestant States of Holland, even to declaring war against them. With his influence the causes of disputes were in no way lessened.

In 1661, Sir Robert Holmes was despatched to Africa. He expelled the Dutch from Cape Verde and the Island of Goree, and sailed to New York to claim the territory under the patent given by James I. to the Earl of Sterling.

The attack in Africa was not to pass without retaliation. The Dutch believing war to be inevitable, commenced to arm. In 1664, an united fleet, under Sir John Lawson and de Ruyter, were cruising in the Mediterranean to punish Barbary for its continual piracies. When they separated the Dutch Admiral proceeded to Africa, and regained the possessions which the

English had seized, even the settlements of which the possession was undisputed, were taken by him.

When Lawson arrived and the proceedings of the Dutch Admiral were reported, the Dutch ships in English ports to the number of one hundred and thirty-five were seized, and an expedition sailed to New York to take possession of the New Netherlands. War was declared in 1665. It lasted until 1667, when the Treaty of Breda caused Acadia to be ceded to the French, and the possession of New Netherlands was affirmed to England.

Lawson's voyage to New York entailed the one duty of taking possession of the country. But resistance had been anticipated; for, on the 23rd of April, 1664, the King addressed a letter to the Governor of New England, calling upon him to assist in the reduction of New York. On Lawson's arrival with his fleet on the 5th of September, the leading merchants entered a protest against offering resistance. On the 6th of September, 1664, quiet possession was taken of the place. On the 12th of September, in anticipation of these results, the Duke of York received a grant of territory, including all that was north of New England, the northern limit being placed at the St. Croix, now forming the boundary between New Brunswick and Maine; with the territory from the Connecticut River to Delaware Bay, including Long Island.

The Dutch had made offshoots from Manhattan. They had established colonies in New Jersey as early as 1624. In 1627, parties had placed themselves on the Delaware. Some Swedes had also made a settlement there, but in 1638, they had to give way to the Dutch. We read that in 1659 emigration was systematically conducted. With the fall of the Dutch power in New York these communities ceased to be. An English garrison was placed in New York and, as we have seen, when de Courcelles was at Schenectady there was a force of sixty men at Albany.

Col. Richard Nicolls, one of those who commanded in Lawson's expedition, was appointed the first Governor. A correspondence took place between him and de Tracy. Nicolls

expressed surprise that the invasion had been made, and alluding to the assistance which had been given to the French, stated that he was ready to continue his good offices in opposition to the heathen, as becomes a good Christian, provided the territory of his Majesty be not invaded. He expressed his readiness to acknowledge some part of his obligations to de Tracy, whose reputation he knew, assigning as a cause for this feeling "the great civilities to my master and all his servants, in their low estate and condition of exile." Nicolls alluded to the home which the English loyalists had found in France. M. de Tracy replied in the same spirit, and added that it was his son who had commanded the regiment of foreign cavalry to whom allusion had been made. He complained that he had not always experienced civilities from the English. A ship from Boston had seized a vessel in 1665, in which there were some strong waters, which he had missed, but with which he could well dispense in the service of his Majesty.

There was war at this date between France and England, and Nicolls was by no means insensible to the opportunities furnished by de Tracy's advance. Nicolls accordingly addressed the authorities of New England on the subject, he could not imagine any reason to the contrary 'why so faire an advantage against the French should be let slip.' He asked that a force from Massachusetts and Connecticut should aid in the attack on de Tracy in order that, "few of the French could returne to Canada," adding, "the common safety is precious to you, although the danger at present more immediately threatens this colony." Willis, on the part of Massachusetts, replied, that the Iroquois were at war with the Abenakis: that if they went to war with the French, the Abenakis would join the latter, and so would attack them in New England: and that it would be difficult to part with strength at home, until there was a cessation of war between the Mohawks and Abenakis.

It was under these circumstances that New York became an English colony. It was the southern neighbour of Canada, and before the close of the century the presence of the

English was sensibly felt. For that time and for some twenty years, indeed to the period of de la Barre, peace in a modified form prevailed, and Canada was left free from devastation.

The assumed destruction of the power of the Mohawks led to the reduction of the French force in Canada, and the troops were ordered home ; four companies being left to guard the advanced forts. Every encouragement was given to the men to remain. Upwards of four hundred of the Carignan regiment accepted the conditions offered. A bonus was given to those who remained, 100 livres in cash, or 50 livres and a year's provisions ; a sergeant was to receive 150 livres, or 100 livres with a year's provisions. Emigration was likewise systematically directed from France. Fifty girls and one hundred men left La Rochelle, with some mares, stallions and sheep. The emigrants were sent at the cost of the King ; the animals were also purchased and shipped by him. The Company on their side paid the passage of two hundred and fifty men.

The powers given to M. de Courcelles and to M. Talon were almost unlimited. The former had power to settle all differences whether in the Council or between Seigneur and *habitant*, and he was placed in authority over all ecclesiastics and all other persons of whatever rank or condition. M. Talon was supreme in civil and judicial matters, all previous regulations being set aside.

In September, 1666, on the eve of de Tracy's expedition, the Seminary of Montreal were established in their rights as Seigneur of the Island. M. Talon, on the part of the King, received *foy et hommage* for the possession. The Royal Courts were abolished and justice was administered in the name of the Seigneur.

It is at this period that the institutions were established in Canada, by virtue of which its political life was to be carried on for nearly a century. Undoubtedly they obtained no little of their impress from the opinion of those about the King. Louis XIV. for the next ten years, took great interest in the

fortunes of the country and directed the emigration which, for the ensuing seven years, was sent to Canada. It was about this period the idea came into the King's mind that he was performing the greatest possible service to humanity by strengthening the Roman Catholic form of worship. We see it in the treaty of Dover of 1670, one of the provisions of which was that Charles II. should declare himself a Roman Catholic ; shewing how the influences around the French King were culminating to enforce the opinions which proved so pernicious to France. It was not until fifteen years later that the Edict of Nantes* was to be revoked, and the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin set aside by the inferior men whom absolute power brought to the front, who were guided by no principle of action but to possess royal countenance and favour.

Talon came to Canada in 1665 : de Tracy left in 1667. During the period of his controlling influence any difference of view, as to the policy of the Colony, if felt, was suppressed. After his departure there was misunderstanding between de Courcelles and Talon. There can be no doubt that when circumstances did not enforce amity, much unpleasantness existed. As both were leaving Canada, Colbert expressed the hope that their differences would be without any permanent consequence.† It was, perhaps, owing to this want of harmony that Talon left for France in 1668, and that M. de Boutteroüe was deputed to act in his absence. That M. de Courcelles was in no way deficient in self-assertion is shewn by a letter of Colbert‡ to him by which it is evident that he had complained of de Boutteroüe, as one dependent on the Bishop and Jesuits. Talon returned to Canada on the 18th of August, 1670. He left the country with de Courcelles in 1672. He therefore remained in Canada five years. Few men in so short a period created such results, in energetically carrying out the

* 1685.

† Comme vous revenez l'un & l'autre en France les petites difficultés qui sont arrivées entre M. de Courcelles & vous n'auront point de suites. Colbert à Talon, 17th May, 1672.

‡ 15th May, 1669.

duties assigned them. But the institutions which he was establishing were, on their creation, doomed to failure from the want of elasticity which they possessed. They were not conceived to lead to satisfactory consequences. It was the rigid, unyielding character of the system which made progress, in the true sense of the word, impossible. There was an absence of individual freedom, a constraint on every action of life, a Procustean form of habit and custom, to which all were bound to adapt themselves.

Moreover, there arose the canker of the love of gain, which entered into the heart of society. That high tone of devotion to duty which has no thought of personal advantage, became unknown. The memory of de Courcelles and Talon is free from any charge of malversation or personal dishonesty. But at this time nearly every official commenced more or less to dabble in trade, by which his private circumstances might be bettered. If he did not do so directly, he did indirectly. There was some concealed disreputable relationship with Indian operations, which demoralized the whole community. This bad spirit remained to the last ; it was only at the Conquest it disappeared. The most unfriendly writers who treat of the early English officials, have not traced to them dishonesty, fraud or greed. For a century, their example prevailed in civil life, to shed its grace over the public and private careers of men in station. Within the last thirty years the old bad spirit has reappeared, in the liberal institutions under which we live. It remains with the people of Canada, whether this plague spot is in the future to increase, or to be stamped out. It is they who have the power ; it is they who have the future in their control. It is found in modern times that men generally obtain the institutions, for which they are fitted by character and conduct.

The signal service rendered to the colony by M. de Tracy in the expedition of October, 1666, quieted opposition in all quarters. The energy of Talon moreover discouraged all interference with the policy of the Government. The fact is nowhere more apparent than in the settlement of the payment

of the *dîme*.* M. de Laval had obtained an edict for establishing it at one-thirteenth, which proposed rate had been reduced to one-twentieth for his life. Believing M. de Tracy favourable to any views which he might express, he presented a petition in 1666, that the *dîme* should be again established at one-thirteenth. On the 23rd of August, de Tracy, de Courcelles and Talon issued an edict that it should be one twenty-sixth harvested grain: a settler going on virgin land not to pay the *dîme* for the first five years. In 1668, a meeting was called at Montreal to determine what should be paid to the Seminary. It was resolved that it should be the twenty-first part of wheat in the sheaf; one twenty-sixth of other grain.

Louis XIV. kept his word, and for the next seven years emigration was systematically conducted. The King saw the necessity of directing population to Canada. As the emigrants arrived the request was made from Quebec that none but Roman Catholics should be sent, and objection was expressed against any being taken from the neighbourhood of La Rochelle.† It was likewise felt that the emigration of men alone would be of little permanent value, in order for the population to be increased the men must be wived. Accordingly, cargoes of young women were regularly shipped to the colony.‡ They were selected, as such must ever be, from classes seeking to better their fortunes. Many were taken from charitable insti-

* The tithe.

† Colbert wrote to M. de Laval the 18th of March, 1664. “Pendant le séjour que vous fîtes ici vous me temoignates que les gens des environs de la Rochelle et des îles circonvoisines qui passaient à la Nouvelle France étaient peu laborieux et que même n'étant pas fort zelés pour la religion ils donnaient de mauvais exemples aux anciens habitants du pays. Le Roi a pris resolution suivant votre avis de faire lever trois cents hommes cette année en Normandie.”

‡ The matter of fact way in which this policy was carried out is shewn in the correspondence of that date. *Colbert to Talon, the 15th of May, 1669*: “The King sends 150 girls to be married, 6 companies of 50 men, 30 officers or gentlemen, 200 other persons. *Colbert to de Courcelles, the 9th of April, 1670*: “Encourage early marriage, so that by the multiplication of children the colony may have the means of increase.” *Talon to the King, the 10th of September, 1670*: “165 girls arrived, 30 do not remain unmarried, 150 to 200 more asked for.” *10th of*

tutions. The few exceptions were those who by their previous conduct had caused scandal. As a rule, they commanded respect, and were immediately married ; and there was everything to lead to that result. Any adult male not marrying was subjected to restriction, and on the other hand, premiums were given to those who married. To be the father of a numerous family became a title to distinction and profit. The emigration directed by the King commenced in 1659. In three years 1,000 souls reached Canada. The Seminary of Montreal on its own account had regularly sent emigrants to that settlement. But it was between 1665 and 1670 that the population received its increase. In 1668, many discharged soldiers became settlers, and in 1669 several families came out. In 1669, six companies of infantry arrived, amounting to upwards of 2,000 men, with the ultimate purpose of their establishment in the colony. Some officers found their way back to France. Colbert wrote to Talon to prevent all such from returning. He was directed to inform officers that if they desired to stand well with the King, they must remain in Canada, and encourage their men to clear the land. It was not a mere threat of displeasure. Those who settled there obtained rewards. M. de Contrecoeur received 600 livres ; M. de Lamothe 1,500 livres, and M. de Hautemisnil, when applying for the confirmation of his letters of nobility, was informed that they would be granted when he had established himself in the colony.

If young women were to be brought to Canada they required to be cared for and protected. There must have been little short of twelve hundred sent between 1665 and 1670. During the voyage, they were under the control of one of their sex, and they were placed under supervision on their

November, 1670 : “The girls sent last year are married, and almost all pregnant or mothers.” *2nd of November, 1671, Talon to Colbert :* “Between 600 and 700 children born, inexpedient to send out girls next year.”

As to the happiness or misery of such marriages there was little account. Some people, however, may believe that this expedient to determine the future of men and women in the lottery of life, is as good as any other.

arrival. The endeavour in France was to select persons of unblemished character. It was soon seen that the young girls sent from the cities, were weaker and less adapted for the rude life of privation before them, than those from the country districts. Attempts were accordingly made to direct the emigration from the country parishes. The Archbishop of Paris instructed each *curé* in his diocese to learn what young women were willing to seek their fortunes in Canada ; a machinery of action which might well be imitated in modern times when a system of emigration is in question.

The King, in their case, certainly shewed his beneficence. He not only trusted to the charms of these rustic beauties ; but each one, on her marriage, was the recipient of a mark of royal favour : cattle, provisions, or the means of constructing a house. Generally, in fifteen days, most of the new arrivals found partners, and the choice of a wife was enforced with all the auxiliaries of power. Young men who did not marry were forbidden to trade, hunt or fish, or in any way enter the bush. The Mère de l'Incarnation tells us that as the selection was made, marriages were celebrated by thirties at the same ceremony.

There can be no question but that great care was taken in the choice of those sent. There was no reason that it should be otherwise. About two hundred annually arrived and there could have been no difficulty in obtaining in France that number of respectable young women. It must be remembered that the emigration was not undertaken from the policy of relieving France of a surplus population, as it is now called. In that point of view, Louis XIV. was opposed to emigration, and ultimately discontinued it. It would have interfered with the number of men who he could draft into his armies. The transfer of emigrants to Canada was solely with the view of aiding the colony and increasing its numbers. There could have been no necessity for making any unwise choice of those sent. In 1663, the population was but two thousand five hundred. In 1673, the number of souls was six thousand seven hundred and five.

There was another class of female emigrants. Talon wrote that officers equally required wives, and suggested that women of higher condition should be induced to leave France, and some fifteen or twenty accepted the offer. They were satisfied with the reception which they received while waiting for the vessel, but they complained of the treatment on board ship. Talon was anxious to remove this unfavourable impression for fear that the report, if communicated to France, would deter others of the same position from following their example.

Another influence also brought to Montreal a better class of women. The Sulpicians foresaw difficulty in obtaining nuns for the Hospital and the Congregation nunneries, and several ladies of good family came to Montreal and entered the Convents. Some of them even possessed a little property. But in instances, the life, as it became better known, was not acceptable. As many as twenty of these ladies married men of higher rank in the colony.*

Nor was it by emigration alone that the promotion of marriage was attained. M. de Laval was called upon by the King to use his influence to induce the youth to marry at eighteen and the girls at sixteen. Twenty livres was the reward of the youth of twenty and of the girl of sixteen or under, who married. It was called *le présent du roi*. Fathers who did not marry their children were fined. There is a special Edict by M. de Courcelles on the subject.† A pension of three hundred livres is promised to the *habitants*, no sex named, having ten children; four hundred livres to those having twelve. It is provided, that in the parishes the greatest honours should be shewn to those having the largest families, and that the fathers who failed to marry their children at twenty and sixteen should be fined. Those with unmarried children were required, within six months, to explain why such was the case. Men who were themselves unmarried were called upon to marry

* Some of their names are given, the only one now recognizable is that of the Hospital Novice, who became Madame Etienne Truteau.

† Conseil Souverain, 20th October, 1670. Vol. I., p. 638.

within fifteen days after the arrival of the ships, under the penalties named. The population, therefore, increased rapidly in localities. In Montreal, the number of souls in 1666 was five hundred and eighty-two; in 1672, nearly fifteen hundred. No part of Canada prospered more by this emigration than the Seigneuries of M. de Laval. In 1666, the population was six hundred and seventy-eight at Beaupré, and on the Island of Orleans, four hundred and seventy-one, both Seigneuries his property, forming together, fully a third of the whole population of the country, which amounted to three thousand four hundred and eighteen souls.*

Once in Canada, the difficulty was to leave the country. No one could depart without a passport, and no captain of a vessel could receive a passenger unless so provided.† As the men arrived orders were given to make individual concessions, on the principle that those clearing the land should be placed side by side. The successful expedition against the Iroquois under de Tracy gave a great impulse to agriculture, and the land even at some distance from the forts around Montreal was then for the first time cultivated.

In the west, de La Salle, then lately arrived, obtained a grant on Lake St. Louis, now known as Lachine; towards the east, the settlement extended to Point aux Trembles, ten miles below Montreal. These concessions did not remain a dead letter. It was necessary to establish hearth and home (*feu et lieu*) within a year, and that at least two arpents of ground should be placed under cultivation. If these conditions were not observed, the land was to revert to the seigneur. A stringent application of this principle was made in Île Jesus, north of Montreal. It had been conceded to the Jesuits, and as they had done nothing to clear the land, the concession was cancelled and the land given to M. Berthelot.

The grants by the Seminary of land to be held in fief were almost gratuitous. The rent of a few sous per arpent was all that was asked. It was on such terms that the fiefs were

* Quebec Documents I., p. 185.

† Colbert to Talon, 11th February, 1671.

granted at Lachine, and at Point aux Trembles, opposite the River Assomption, and near the Sault St. Louis. The grants which M. de Lauson had obtained were resumed by the King. The country was given out by the Crown to the officers of the Carignan regiment in seigneuries ; extending from the Island of Montreal on the north shore to Berthier, and on the south shore from Sorel to Laprairie, at which place the Jesuits had established a mission. Likewise along the River Richelieu to Chambly. A road was also constructed from Chambly to Sorel, sixty miles, and along the river side from Montreal to Point aux Trembles.

The theory on which the Seigneurs received large tracts directly from the Crown, was the establishment of a Colonial nobility who could make grants in fief of a tract of some extent, or would concede direct to single families as *censitaires*, paying the rent in kind for their holdings. The *lods et ventes* were a fee of one-twelfth of the purchase money of any estate ; the Seigneur receiving this twelfth. No fee was payable in the transfer of land as a gift or as inherited property. The revenue of the Seigneurs consisted of the rent paid by those holding the land ; a few sous annually the arpent. Most of the Seigneurs were poor, and hence when they had built their house and cleared some land, they had little means by display of expenditure, to raise themselves in appearance above the settlers beside them. They retained their nominal rank whatever their circumstances. The Seigneur was bound to build a mill, the Banal mill; in early days a tax upon him, for there was little grain to grind. He was subjected to the cost of constructing the mill, then a matter of expense in Canada, it being necessary to import the stones and machinery ; and he had to pay the miller also, no light obligation. His receipts were one-fourteenth of the grain ground, which, in some places, was small in quantity. The disadvantages were such that many Seigneurs were unable to construct a mill. With the early Seigneurs it was a struggle to live. They were unable to educate their children, and, with the exception of fishing and shooting, they had no compensating privilege. Even-

tually many of the Seigneuries fell into the hands of the sons of those who had made fortunes in trade, or became the property of men in official life, or of officers having private means. At the time of the grants it was expected that the officers of the regiment would bring the men of their companies with them to settle by their side; and that thus a militia would be formed for defence against the incursions of the Iroquois. The first Seigneurs, unless obtaining employment from the Crown or increasing their income by trade, differed little from the *habitant* in their life and pursuits, whatever their previous career and however distinguished their family. As an individual, the Seigneur might be badly clothed, and dependent on what he received from his *censitaires*. Most of those who had accepted this life had large families, with no private resources. In time the Seigneuries became of value, but in most cases they had passed from the families of the original proprietors. In the early stages of their establishment, the Seigneurs suffered hardships and derived little benefit from their possessions. Justice was administered by each Seigneur on the territory owned by him. According to the modern view it was a system not disadvantageous to the Colonist: it gave redress for injuries, and assured immediate retribution in the case of crime. The right formed a portion of the grant of the Seigneur, and prevailed throughout its extent. It consisted of the administration of what was called "basse justice;" "moyenne" and "basse justice;" or "haute, moyenne and basse justice;" or the phrase sometimes ran, "en toute justice." "Haute justice" conveyed the power of considering crimes punishable by death. "Moyenne justice" dealt with debts of small amount, or with misdemeanours punishable by fine. "Basse justice" with seigneurial dues and profits. In all important cases, there was an appeal to the Seigneurial or to the Royal Court, and, as a last resource, to the Sovereign Council. If learned reasoning did not accompany the decision, knowledge of the parties and of the causes of litigation, as a rule suggested substantial justice, and generally speaking, there was little ground for complaint.

Education obtained attention, but the institutions which were established could not effect great results. In Quebec the Jesuits' College gave some instruction; and the Seminary established by M. de Laval, which had principally in view the formation of a school of ecclesiastics, also received lay pupils. In connection with it he founded what was called the "Little Seminary."* It owed its origin to the desire expressed by the King for steps to be taken for the education of Indian children. At the commencement of its operation Indian children had been mixed with the French. But the experiment was not repeated and teaching was given to the French only. M. de Laval, finding that some of the pupils did not take kindly to study, formed a school of trades at Cap Tourmente, where useful and necessary handicraft was taught: one of the best acts of his life. At the Ursulines the young Canadian girls could not be brought under the discipline which Mère de l'Incarnation had witnessed at Tours. She complained that thirty Canadian girls gave as much trouble as double the number in France. The difficulty of educating the young Huron girls was insuperable. Their parents influenced them more than their teachers. The Indian woman had seldom more than two or three children, of whom they were extravagantly fond. In their desire to gratify them the mothers encouraged their resistance to study and discipline. After some years of experience the Mère de l'Incarnation wrote, that of the one hundred Indian children who had passed through their hands, they had scarcely civilized a single girl.

At Montreal, education was gratuitous. Marguerite Bourgeois for a time taught both boys and girls. Later, the boys were instructed by M. Souart, of the Seminary. As the girls grew up, such of them as were capable and felt inclined to perform the duty, visited Lachine and Point-aux-Trembles to prepare the younger girls for their first communion, and there were instances of their going to Three Rivers, and even to the Bay of Saint Paul below Quebec.

The difficulty of obtaining priests to perform the religious

* 9th October, 1668.

services received early attention. In 1660, by the influence of M. de Laval the Seminary of St. Sulpice, at Paris, had been instructed to send no more ecclesiastics to Canada, while one of the younger members of his priesthood had stigmatized their doctrine as that of Anti-Christ. In 1666, the Seminary was requested to fill the void now felt with respect to the limited number of priests in the country. Four of them arrived this year : among them Dollier de Casson and Jean Cavelier, brother of de La Salle. It was doubtless in consequence of his presence that his more celebrated brother cast his bread on the waters of Canada.

In the Charter granted to the West India Company there was the usual phrase of those days about the royal desire to establish the true religion. Acting upon it, Talon asked for additional priests ; especially he desired their presence so they could be sent to the forts. It was a thankless, profitless duty, and so ill paid were these ecclesiastics, that those selected in France, as a rule, were men who either possessed private means, or belonged to wealthy families. One of this class was M. François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon, who certainly did not proceed to Canada from the want of brilliant prospects. Indeed, his family were opposed to the step. He had but lately abandoned the world, and had received the minor orders, in themselves nominal, and in no way binding ; he had been but fifteen months in the Seminary. In one sense he might be regarded as a layman, for he would have been justified at any hour in abandoning a position conditionally accepted. On his arrival in Canada, M. de Laval admitted him to the office of sub-deacon. The following year he was ordained deacon and priest.

M. de Laval never gave his confidence to the Sulpicians. His letters to the Propaganda establish the fact. However outwardly courteous he was to priests coming to Canada by Royal authority, he considered their presence as an influence adverse to his own. At this date he was still Apostolic Vicar. A Pope acting in concert with an unfriendly King of France, could remove him in an hour. He was dependent still on the

favour of the Jesuits, and the fact would seem always to have been prominent in his mind. Any step taken independently of him, he regarded as a personal wrong. In Quebec he was all powerful. In Montreal there was an assertion of independent authority. He was desirous of making the Hospital Nuns at Montreal a branch of the nuns of that order in Quebec. Montreal, on the other hand, was desirous of retaining supremacy over her own institutions, and it was held there, that her religious houses ought to be independent of other influences in Canada. Accordingly, a brief was obtained from Pope Alexander VII., recognizing the Saint Joseph Nuns, and constituting them a distinct order.

The proceeding was distasteful to M. de Laval. He wrote to the Holy Father that he believed the brief to have been surreptitiously obtained:^{*} and he must have expressed this opinion. For as at this date, M. Souart was proceeding to France to make arrangements for the advent of other ecclesiastics, M. de Laval added a paragraph to record the fact, so as to give cause for new caution at Rome ; to the effect that M. Souart was proceeding thither to anticipate the Bishop's suspicions.[†]

The admirers of M. de Laval will have difficulty in reconciling these expressions of distrust with the fair face and courtesy he shewed the Sulpicians. One demand he made, certainly was not consistent with good feeling and justice. He insisted that the Seminary as Seigneur, should repay the twenty-two thousand livres lent by Mademoiselle Mance in the critical condition of the Colony in 1653, and for which she had received land. M. de Laval called upon the Seminary to resume the land and to repay the money. Whatever might be the necessities of the Hôtel Dieu, the Seminary was likewise in the position of being called upon to make large disbursements out of its resources ; and that Montreal had any existence was owing to the labours and expenditure of

* Verum multa me inducunt ut suspicer Breve subreptitum esse.

† Et quoniam ita me suspicari senserunt, videntur velle praevenire declarationem apud vos suspicionis meae.

that Society whose obligations the Seminary had assumed, of which this matter formed one. Their own efforts were being daily added to the list of benefactions. The argument of M. de Laval was that Madame de Bullion, the founder of the Convent, had not consented to the exchange. In vain M. de Maisonneuve and Madlle. Mance, the person most interested, gave full assurance that this consent had been given. M. de Laval refused this evidence. He demanded the transfer in writing accepted by the donor of the money. No such document could be produced ; for one of the conditions of Madame de Bullion's beneficence was that it should remain unknown. M. de Laval would not be satisfied. He accused the Seminary of unjustly holding the money of the Hôtel Dieu, and summoned the ecclesiastics of the Seminary before the Conseil Souverain. The Sulpicians, however, appealed to the Privy Council in Paris, and there obtained a decision in their favour. The statement of the Sulpicians set forth that the money had been devoted to the benefit of the whole colony : that the Company had expended an additional fifty-three thousand livres, and that if the money was to be repaid the whole community, including the Hôtel Dieu, was liable to contribute. From time to time M. de Laval renewed the attack. It was only in 1695 that his successor settled the dispute.

In 1668, M. de Queylus returned to Canada. His ability had been missed, and M. Souart, being in Paris, urged the proceeding. The King himself expressed the desire that he should return. M. de Queylus accordingly again left France for Montreal. He must have contrasted his mode of departure and his present return. On the first occasion, seized by soldiers, carried a prisoner to Quebec, and placed on board a home-ward bound vessel : on the second, obeying M. d'Avaugour's command, that, in accordance with the *lettre de cachet*, he should not remain another week in the country. Now, acting on the express desire of the King, and aiding in meeting the emergencies recognized by M. de Laval himself, M. de Queylus received special and cordial welcome. His arrival was the subject of a letter addressed to the Curé of Saint Josse at

Paris, the one contribution of M. de Laval to the Jesuit Relations.* He records how the arrival had given him extreme joy, and how he had embraced M. de Queylus *in visceribus Christi*; and in order to affirm his own position it is signed by him as the first Bishop of New France, nominated by the King, as if it were an inferred protest against any preference for the nomination of M. de Queylus as the future Bishop, he possessing the pledged royal word as to his own appointment.

M. de Queylus was received in Canada with open arms. He was named Grand Vicar of Montreal, and re-entered his old scene of activity in a different character to that in which he had left it. He was accompanied by M. d'Allet, who had been arrested with him, and by M. de Gallinée, a man of much mathematical ability, who afterwards produced the first map of the country between the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, from Montreal to the River Detroit, with Lake Ontario and the North Shore of Lake Erie. It was in fault in the one respect, that M. de Galinée did not know of the existence of the peninsula of Michigan. But it is a document bearing testimony to his remarkable ability.

Another important addition to the ecclesiastical state of Canada was the return of the Recollets. In April, 1670, the King wrote to de Courcelles and Talon, and to M. de Laval to receive the Père Allart and four fathers. Six arrived during the year, to obtain kindly welcome from the inhabitants. They had now been nearly forty years absent from the country, in which they had been the first to commence the observance of religion. They found that their lands had passed into other hands. The Recollets did not, however, desire to inaugurate their return to Canada by law suits and quarrels. The Mère de l'Incarnation tells us that they had determined to leave the new owners in possession and content themselves with a spot of ground on which they could build. It is a pleasant record, that those who had the property behaved with gener-

* Relation 1668, p. 30.

osity and decency. M. de Lotbinière abandoned all claim to that which he possessed. The heirs de Repentigny, and the nuns of the Hotel Dieu entered into arrangements by which the Recollets obtained a piece of ground, ten arpents in front, and one hundred and ten arpents deep.* While the Governor General gave them fresh titles of possession, to assure them in this respect an undisturbed future.

* One thousand eight hundred feet front by nearly two miles depth.

CHAPTER V.

One of the problems with which M. de Courcelles and M. Talon had to deal, was the political status of the Jesuits. The experience of d'Argenson, d'Avaugour, and de Mésy, had not been without its consequence. The instructions to Talon* directly set forth that it had been reported they had gone beyond the boundary of their religious duty; and both the Governor and Intendant must have felt that consideration of this question was not the slightest of their duties. In the first years of Talon's official life the members of the order in Canada, whether or not possessing knowledge of the impression in France, with regard to their proceedings, behaved with discretion. In the same year, Talon wrote that if in times past they had given trouble "they have greatly reformed their conduct, and that there will be no need of being guarded against them provided they always comport themselves as they do now," adding that he anticipated no future trouble. It has been seen that M. de Courcelles had complained of de Boutterouë's pliancy to the Bishop, during the two years the latter acted as Intendant in the absence of Talon. He himself brought to the notice of the Crown, the aggressive character of the proceedings of the Jesuits. Colbert directed him to act with prudence and circumspection and to consult with Talon. There is nothing to shew that the Jesuits attempted to influence the policy of the Intendant, and it was only with regard to the trade with the Indians that any interference took place.

Talon early saw the non-producing character of Canada, in a commercial point of view, and his efforts were turned to the development of her resources. He introduced the culture of

* 27th March, 1665.

† 4th October, 1665.

hemp. Girls at the schools were taught to spin. He encouraged the manufacture of Canadian cloth and the inhabitants were invited to produce it. He favoured the production of soap, the working of tanneries, and preparation of potash. The name of "The Tanneries," a village to the west of Montreal, now connected with the city by long streets of buildings is a memorial of his efforts in that day. He himself established a brewery at Quebec in the hope that the use of beer would reduce the consumption of brandy. On this ground, the Conseil Souverain petitioned the King that a restriction should be placed on the importation of brandy.* There was hope that the mines could be successfully worked. Nicolas Perrot was sent up in 1668 by Talon to examine the copper of Lake Superior, reported to be in large deposits ; but Talon saw whatever the quantity, owing to the distance and difficulty of navigation in those days, the expense of bringing it to Quebec would make its working impossible. There was a belief that a seam of coal had been discovered near Quebec, and an attempt was made to work it. Such a statement has been made in our day for that geological folly to be repeated. Talon constructed two sea-going vessels, shewing how ship-building was feasible. He established a trade between Quebec, and the Antilles, and thence with France. His scheme was to load a vessel with dried cod, salt salmon, smoked eels, seal and porpoise oil, planks, and other wood, for the West Indies, there to receive a cargo of sugar, and proceed to France ; thence to return with a cargo to Canada. In 1666 and 1667, he urged upon the King to obtain possession of New York, and he only ceased to advocate this policy when he found it was not considered feasible. He knew the influence which royal praise and the gracious recognition of service exercise, on every class of mind. In his letters, numerous passages are found in which he expresses the hope, that a few kindly words will be addressed to the individuals whom he names, as distinguishing themselves in certain respects. He applied for letters of *noblesse* for Godefroy, le Moyne, Denis, Amyot, and Couillard.

* 30th October, 1668.

It was, doubtless, by his recommendation that in 1670 twelve mares and a stallion were sent out by the King to be presented to the leading people in the Colony. He cleared some land and established three villages near Quebec as a mark of what could be done in that respect, and he was unceasing in his endeavours to further the fortunes of the Colony.

It was on the question of the trade in furs with the Indians that Talon became at issue with M. de Laval. Talon saw that the conditions of this intercourse had so established themselves, that it was not possible to have dealings with the Indians without permitting brandy to be used in barter. He regretted the necessity probably as much as any one, but there was no other course to be taken if the trade were not to pass to Albany. Before leaving for France, in 1668, full authority was given by him to sell liquor to the Indians, and the Edict announcing it, informed the Indians that if they were found drunk they would be punished. M. de Laval still clung to his opinions. He would not see the requirements of the situation. He argued on abstract grounds : a proceeding not often possible in actual life, and he declined to assist in the improvement of the objectionable features which he unfailingly represented. He would in no way withdraw the excommunication which he had hurled against those who sold the brandy. He thus raised a question affecting the civil power. He, an ecclesiastic, created a crime according to his own views, and claimed the right of punishing it in such a manner as he was able.

The proceeding was one to introduce discord. Individuals ranged themselves in parties for or against the views of M. de Laval. It was an emergency with which he could not cope ; and after a struggle of some years, in 1677, he sent his Grand Vicaire, M. Dudouyt, to Paris. It was in the time of M. de Frontenac, to which period the narrative of the event belongs.

The consequence of the orders of the King with regard to marriage, rigidly enforced in Canada, was the annihilation of all personal will and self-assertion on the part of those who did

not desire to form such a connection. It led to the creation of a class known in the correspondence of that day as the "*courreurs de bois*," rovers of the woods. They were men in the vigour of life, fond of adventure, disinclined to accept the choice of a wife in the fifteen days time allowed to select one; although the class was not without its representatives of those who had passed through that experience. Such men as these found no attraction in agricultural toil. They looked to enjoy the holiday side of life. They were marked by reckless courage; they seldom took account of obstacles before them, and formed themselves into small knots of men who worked together for a common purse. They hunted for and traded in furs. They varied in the number in which they were found together, but they consisted of hundreds spread over the southern and north-western wilderness.

Talon wrote to the King, in 1670, that they were living as banditti. The profits of their trade were great, and they spent them in revelry. They lived with the Indians, accepted by the squaws. The furs they obtained they sold in Montreal. If more money could be obtained in Albany they were not particular where they sought customers; one market to them was as good as another. Such men, after a few months of this experience, while health and strength lasted, became unfit for civilization. They preferred the risk, the alternate danger and effort, with its absolute, unconditional idleness. Except in war and the chase the Indian did nothing. The woman was the drudge, the slave, the tiller of the land. The life had a positive charm for the *courreur de bois*, a vagabond from civilization, who lived and ate with the savage, participated in his idleness, his dirt and his uselessness.

When they appeared in Montreal, they shewed themselves in fine clothes, and in a life of roystering gaiety, excess and play they dissipated the money which they had gathered often in privation and danger. They were always ready for any adventure, and to push forward in search of it, where there was water for them to ascend. They carried their investigations where they could find new fields for action.

They brought to Montreal much information of the geography of the country ; uncertain, vague and indefinite, but based on the experience which they had obtained, and hence valuable from being founded on fact not on surmise.

M. de Queylus, on his return to Canada assumed the direction of the Seminary and took upon himself the duties which, as Seigneur of Montreal, fell to the Seminary to perform. The administrative ability which he possessed led him to develop the plans of settlement with prudence, although settlement increased but in a trifling degree ; it included at that date, the establishment of the celebrated de La Salle on the shores of Lake St. Louis.

Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, was born at Rouen, on the 2nd of November, 1643. He belonged to a family of wealthy merchants. La Salle was the name of a small estate which he possessed ; its locality, however, has not been identified. He had been carefully educated, with a keen, fervent intellect, and a self-sustained nature, the ambitious tendencies of which were early awakened. It has been stated that he was in his early years a member of the Jesuit order, and that he abandoned the life. There is not a single fact to sustain the allegation, on the contrary, all evidence is against the theory.* A distinguished Jesuit father† of ability and varied attainments, acquainted with Canadian history made diligent search to ascertain the truth on the subject. He could find no trace of the relationship ; and modern belief is that de La Salle never had any connection with the order more than having as a youth profited by its teaching.

* The one authority is that of the Recollet Hennepin in his first volume of 1697. He tells us that he was informed that such was the case, by Barrois, the Secretary of de Frontenac. The story is in every way improbable. He goes so far as to say (p. 107) that he had seen de La Salle's discharge from "another order" clearly meaning the Jesuits, which sets forth that he had lived without suspicion of any *pêché venial*. Hennepin's testimony is valueless on every point except when he records some observation or some physical fact, which he had no interest in misrepresenting. No statement can be accepted on his authority. He was careless in the relation of his facts, and one of the most shameless liars to be met in literature.

† M. le Père Martin de Montreal.

His elder brother, a Sulpician, arrived in Canada on the 7th of September, 1667. De La Salle's first known appearance at Montreal was at the marriage of Sidrac Dugré, on the 7th of November of that year. The grant of land at Lachine which he obtained from the Seminary was made by M. Dominique Gallier, Acting Superior during the absence of M. Souart in France, between the autumn of 1667 to the autumn of 1668.*

It is not possible to say whether he preceded or accompanied his brother to Canada. Nothing has been discovered of his life in France. Indeed, throughout his earlier career, we have more speculation than fact. He inherited money: or he could not have obtained the concession of land and have commenced clearing it. That the family was wealthy is proved by the presence of his brother the Sulpician in Canada. Generally, at that date, the Sulpicians selected to proceed to Montreal were men of means, for they received no stipend worthy the name.

These speculations as to his arrival are called for by the wording of the *Mémoire* of de La Salle, of 1677. He there stated that he came to Canada in 1666, and that in 1667 and the following years he made several voyages at great cost to himself, in which he was the first discoverer of much country south of the great lake, among others the great River Ohio. It may, therefore, be accepted that he came to Canada in 1666, for he would have scarcely have dared to make the assertion within a few years of the event, if the statement could have been disputed. With regard to his explorations it is not possible that his voyages could have extended to any great distance between the summer of 1666 and the autumn of 1667. The probability is that he started on unimportant hunting expeditions and learned something of life in the woods. The same feeling exists to-day with Europeans arriving in Canada having money and leisure: and adventure of this description possesses much fascination with a class of minds. To de La Salle a new comer, without experience, without any fixed plan, there would have been little inducement to enter

* M. l'Abbé Verréault.

on a course of discovery, for at that date little had been heard of the Ohio. He could not of himself have felt the significance of any such examination. The spirit of adventure may have been awakened in him, but it could scarcely have taken a distinct form.

The belief is that de La Salle obtained his concession at the end of 1667, and that during the winter he commenced clearing it, and that by the end of 1668 he had from ten to twelve arpents under cultivation, and three arpents with the wood cut down, and that his buildings had been commenced. His property, situated on Lake St. Louis, must have given him an early acquaintance with the fur trade, and the inference is, that he took part in it. In November, 1668, he hired a house in Montreal, and passed the winter there.* The Iroquois Indians possibly visited his property in Lachine, he coming to Montreal with them from time to time, that he might study their language. On the 5th of January, 1669, his domicile was at Montreal, and it was between Montreal and Lachine that his time was passed, until he started on the expedition with Dollier and Gallinée. It was from his association with the Seneca Indians that he heard of the great River of the West; how the Ohio could be easily reached, and would lead to a large stream running into the ocean. De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi at this time was quite forgotten, or lost sight of. As this large river, of which so much was now being said, had no opening on the Atlantic coast, for no known river satisfied the condition of being its mouth, the imagination of de La Salle drew the inference that it must discharge into the Vermillion Sea, the Gulf of California.

In 1668, the Seminary established the mission of the Bay of Quinté.† It consisted of Messrs. Fénélon and Trouvé.

* M. l'Abbé Verréault.

† It is not possible to identify the locality by M. de Gallinée's map. The outline has no resemblance to the form of the peninsula of Prince Edward. Knowing these waters well, I can trace some resemblance to the River Moira, Napanee, and the bay terminating at Picton. Assuming this locality to be identified, one feels tempted to place Ganeyout at the southern shore of the arm of these waters in the

They arrived on the 28th of October, and were well received by the Indians. Without delay their labours were commenced, and they received so much encouragement that they were hopeful for the future development of the settlement. In the winter of 1668 M. de Queylus sent M. Dollier de Casson and M. Barthélmy among the Indians to learn their language. The former established himself at Lake Nipissing. At this place the chief of the tribe had a slave, one of the Indians of the west, bordering the Mississippi. The slave was sent on some mission to Montreal, and when there he saw M. de Queylus. The slave described to M. de Queylus the country whence he came, and M. de Queylus was so impressed with what he heard, that he wrote to Dollier de Casson suggesting that he should accompany the slave to his own country, and continue his missionary labour. The proposal was accepted. All the information possible as to geography and language was obtained, and M. Dollier made his way to Montreal to carry out the wishes of his superior. M. de Laval arrived at Montreal during these proceedings, and gave his sanction to the voyage. The object was to penetrate to the country known as the Mississippi, but otherwise with no definite and direct object. M. Barthélmy was first named to accompany M. Dollier ; his place was subsequently taken by M. de Gallinée whose knowledge of geography and mathematics pointed him out as a fit person for such an enterprize.

At this time, M. de La Salle determined to start on a voyage of discovery: what means he possessed were invested in his seigneury of St. Sulpice on Lake Saint Louis. He applied to M. de Queylus to take back the concession and pay him for his improvements. The object to which the money was to be applied no doubt led to the application being entertained. One thousand livres was paid him, he reserving for himself four hundred and twenty arpents *en fief*. This pro-

Township of Fredericksburgh, and Quinté may have been situated to the southwest of Picton, at the head of the Bay in the Township of Marysburgh. It must be confessed, however, that in this case it is not possible to rise higher than conjecture.

perty he subsequently sold, with his rights, to Jean Millot, a tool maker, for two thousand eight hundred livres. The proceeding was looked upon with disfavour by the Seminary and created an unpleasant impression of de La Salle's stability of character. On receiving the money he proceeded to Quebec to obtain the Governor's authority for the course he proposed, and to obtain official recognition of himself.

Dollier de Casson was at this time in Quebec engaged in purchasing provisions, and in making arrangements for his journey. His object, in the view of the Governor, was identical with that of M. de la Salle, and M. de Courcelles accordingly suggested that the parties should join together and make the expedition in company.

There had been, at this time, a murder committed in Montreal by three or five soldiers, near Point Claire, on Lake Saint Louis. The story is told in the memoirs of Nicolas Perrot. They belonged to the Carignan Regiment, and were in the practice of proceeding upon hunting expeditions. On this occasion they noticed a Seneca Chief, with a canoe well charged with furs. They plied him with brandy, killed him, and took possession of his furs. The body they sank with weights ; but, shortly afterwards, it was found floating by some Iroquois, who brought it to Montreal. The crime was detected by the furs with the Indian's mark, being traced to the soldiers. Its dangerous aspect was, that there was the possibility of its inflaming the minds of the Senecas to make reprisal, and that hostilities might re-commence. The situation was felt to be so critical that M. de Courcelles proceeded to Montreal. There were many Indians present, and it was held to be necessary to establish the conviction, that the death of this man was in no way attributable to any action of the Government, but was caused by individual crime. The assassins were publicly shot, and collars were sent to the Oneidas and Senecas to conciliate those tribes.

There is also an account of a murder of a family, consisting of three men, a woman and two children, on the River Mascouche, opposite to the east of the Island of Montreal. The

bodies were never found ; no plunder was ever seen. Some men, however, are reported to have left Montreal when the news of the crime was known. The story of the crime rests principally on the statement of de la Salle, based on information received by him. There is no evidence worthy the name that any such event happened except that, three men suspiciously left Montreal, abandoning their property. There was, at this date, the constant dread of Indian troubles, and such a report would attract attention as threatening serious difficulty. In this case it caused anxiety, so that credence was readily given to the story. The narrative caused great excitement. A reward was offered for the apprehension of the missing men. The whole affair was one of mystery ; no proof is furnished that the crime was even committed.

It was in this critical state of feeling on the part of the Senecas that the joint expedition of the Seminary and of de La Salle took its departure. It left in the early days of July. Including the leaders, it consisted of twenty-two French, the Senecas engaged by de La Salle, leading the way. It took thirty-five days of navigation to ascend the Saint Lawrence to Lake Ontario. The Sulpicians desired to visit the mission at Quinté ; but the Senecas continued directly on their route and the priests would not separate themselves from them. The canoes arrived at the mouth of a small river leading to the Seneca village, supposed to be identified with Irondequoit Bay and the River aux Sables, four miles to the east of the Genesee. De La Salle and de Galinée, accompanied by ten Frenchmen, proceeded to the village, the others remained with the canoes. It was the 12th of August, the hottest period of summer. They were attended by two or three score of Indians, who had come down to the lake, and who insisted from time to time that they should halt for rest. Half way, they were met by more of the tribe. The village was some two leagues from the lake. On their arrival, a council of old men was assembled. The visitors were received with friendliness and a place assigned them to live in. In the evening more Indians arrived. They came from the other villages of the Senecas, of which

there were four in number, the two principal being between six and seven leagues apart, and about the same distance from the lake. On the following day a Council was held, when the request was made that some of the Mississippi Indians who had been taken prisoners and held as slaves should be given them. There was difficulty in carrying on the conversation. De La Salle admitted his incapacity to make himself understood in Iroquois, and a Hollander accompanying de Galinée, the only interpreter who could be obtained on starting, did not know French sufficiently to translate what he heard. The Père Firmin, the Jesuit Missionary at the place, was absent. But his servant acted as interpreter, and they were enabled to make the request understood. Presents were exchanged. The following day a promise was given to furnish the Indian guide ; still nothing was done, and the fine season of the year for canoe travel was passing away. Delay was asked until the return of some of the tribe from Albany, whither they had gone to trade. While waiting for these Chiefs, de Galinée and de La Salle went to one of the principal villages. It happened that the Chief murdered at Montreal belonged to this tribe, and the desire of avenging his death was openly expressed. The party accordingly kept themselves on the alert even to posting a sentry by night. The Senecas had obtained brandy from Albany. They occasionally indulged in excesses, and the consequences sometimes looked as if they would be dangerous. One of the penalties to which de Galinée had to submit was the burning of a young prisoner, scarcely twenty. Hearing of the presence of the French, he asked to see the Mistigouche.* When de Galinée came to the spot, he found him bound to a post. In vain the priest entreated that the lad should be set free. The Algonquin language was an imperfect means of communication between the two. The interpreter, on the plea that it was not

* Les premiers Algonquins qui virent les François les appellèrent “Ouemichtigouchiou” c'est à dire hommes qui ont des canots de bois. Par corruption *Mistigouche*, signifie *français étrangers*. M. l'Abbé Vérreault.

Note to voyage of M. M. Dollièr et de Gallinée, p. 21.

customary to ask for the release of a prisoner, would not make the request. The prisoner had been given in satisfaction to the family, a member of which he had killed. In de Gallinée's presence, the principal relative applied a musket barrel at white heat to the unfortunate man's feet, and the sufferer's cry of horror drove de Gallinée away in great grief. He was soon joined by de La Salle, who considered affairs were looking threatening. The Indians were getting rapidly mad with drink, and he suggested that they should leave. They had sent seven or eight of their staff to a small village about half a league distant ; and the two went to the stream, where Dollier had been left. The latter had been ill, and at one time the attack appeared to be serious, but he recovered. It became necessary to proceed again to the village for corn, which they had to carry on their backs. They made inquiries as to the distance to the Ohio, and heard that it was six days journey of twelve leagues by land ; having to carry their provisions this distance, they abandoned the project of making it by land. The Senecas expressed to the interpreter the danger of proceeding to Touguenha, as they named the place, as the Indians there would prove hostile and would shoot their arrows at them at night, by the light of the camp fire. Along the Ohio they would meet the tribe of the Anastois, who would destroy them, and they feared that they, the Senecas, would be blamed for their death and be chastised for it. Accordingly, they declined to conduct the French thither. The Dutch interpreter, who was affected by this information, did nothing which was in any way in opposition to this view.

In this emergency, an Iroquois arrived from a hunting expedition at the head of Lake Ontario, where the deer and bear were plentiful. From him they learned that at this spot they would have no difficulty in finding a guide, and they agreed to accompany him on his return.

They again embarked on Lake Ontario. For five days they paddled up the lake, crossing the mouth of the Niagara River, and hearing the roar of the Falls, to reach the ex-

tremity of the lake at Burlington Bay. They unloaded their canoes and proceeded to a village inland, distant five leagues. There is no indication where this place is situated. It could not have been in the direction of the Grand River; for from Dundas, the place to which at this day the Desjardins Creek is navigable, the distance to the Grand River is scarcely fifteen miles. It was while waiting for assistance to carry the baggage that de La Salle went on a hunting expedition, to return prostrated with fever. He saw three immense rattlesnakes ascending a rock, which "some say" caused this illness. The party remained three days where they were. Before proceeding to the inland village two slaves were given, one to each chief of the party, and the inhabitants promised that they would conduct them to the river by which they could descend to Lake Erie. Moreover, they learned that two Frenchmen had lately arrived there.

There was every inducement for them to establish themselves at this place Tinaouatoua; and the Indians begged that they would do so. The object of the voyage, however, could not be lost sight of, to proceed to the Mississippi; and all that Dollier de Casson could undertake was that the following year a mission should be established. They were greatly surprised to hear of the presence of the two Frenchmen; their belief being that the country had never been visited.

On the following day they started, and, after a tedious and painful march, they reached the Grand River. There they met Louis Jolliet, the future discoverer of the Mississippi. He was then about twenty-five; he was returning from Lake Superior, where he had been sent by Talon to examine into the locality of a copper mine. He had been unable to discover it, and, being pressed for time, was hurrying back to Montreal. They began now to perceive that the illness of de La Salle was affecting him, and he gave indications that he did not desire to proceed further.

Jolliet explained that he had sent some of his men to examine with regard to the Pottewatamis, a tribe of the Ottawas who were without missionaries, and who lived not

far from the great river leading to the south. We may trace an allusion to the sources of the Mississippi to be reached by way of the south shore of Lake Superior from the mission, La Pointe. The information suggested both to Dollier and de Galinée that the river of which they were in search could be more advantageously sought in this direction. Both the Sulpicians understood the Ottawa language, and it appeared to them a preferable route to that passing through the Iroquois country. Jolliet gave them all the information which he possessed. A map was made, doubtless, by Jolliet, for he was a man of observation and education, and de Gallinée tells us that it proved of the greatest use.

They halted here for two or three days, when de La Salle informed them that his health made it necessary for him to proceed to Montreal; and that he would not undertake to pass the winter in the woods with men unaccustomed to that life, and that the possibility was that they would die of hunger. On the 30th of September mass was celebrated. The parties separated. De La Salle returned to Lake Ontario.

There is an expression of M. de Galinée which demands attention. The account of his voyage was written immediately on his return in 1670. The fact is established by the remark of M. Dollier in his history, and it is improbable that he would make a statement easily capable of disproof. It is to the effect that the party of de La Salle looked upon those staying behind as doomed to certain death. "They so expressed themselves on their arrival here (Montreal) causing much pain to all who took interest in us."* The indirect evidence of this remark is that de La Salle's party returned without delay to Montreal.

The Sulpicians left Tinaouatoua on the 1st of October. Three days were taken to make the nine or ten leagues distance to the Grand River. Evidently this village must have been east of the height which trends northward from Hamil-

* comme en effet ils le publièrent dès qu'ils furent arrivés ici et firent beaucoup de peine à tous ceux qui prenoient quelqu'intérêt à nos personnes. Voyage de de Galinée, p. 32.

ton, in order for it to be distant twenty-five miles from the Grand River. It cannot be identified, and it is idle to speculate on its locality. The Sulpicians must have reached the Grand River far from its mouth, for it took them eight days to descend the stream. The party consisted of twelve persons in three canoes.

It was October. Storms occasionally were experienced on Lake Erie, and as they reached Long Point, the weather became so bad that they could not proceed. Accordingly, they resolved to pass the winter where they were. They were fortunate in killing some deer, and they smoked the meat as they had observed the Senecas had done in the village near Irondequoit Bay. They found apples, plums and grapes. They made wine, which they found as good as the Vin de Grave. "I call this," writes de Gallinée, "the terrestrial Paradise of Canada. I have seen more than a hundred deer in a troop, and bears fatter and of better relish than the most savoury pigs of France." To protect themselves from the strong wind, they built their cabin in the woods by a stream about a quarter of a league from the shore. Here they lived in the free air of the forest. Its sense of independence which ever awakens the best instincts of manhood, confirmed their courage and gave constancy to their patience. M. Dollier afterwards declared that this winter, passed in accord with nature, was, in value for the preparation for eternity, worth ten years of life. The Iroquois often hunted in the locality. They visited the cabin, admired its situation, and, no doubt, estimated its strength. "We built it," says de Galinée, "to be able to defend ourselves for a long time against these barbarians if they entertained the idea of coming to insult us" Fortunately the weather was mild. Indeed, on Lake Erie the climate is much less rigorous than in Eastern Canada: and, by a strange coincidence, in Montreal that year the weather was unusually severe, as if to establish in their minds the more favourable features of their sojourn.

Spring came, and the Sulpicians had to continue their route. Previously to leaving, there was one solemn ceremony to be

performed. It was to take possession of the country in the name of the King of France. They erected a cross and placed an inscription upon it ; and the two priests, so far as they were able, added to French rule the sovereignty over the territory extending from Lake Erie to the great lakes of the north.

On the 26th of March, 1670, after having passed five months and eleven days on the shores of Lake Erie, they again started on their voyage. Proceeding westerly, on the first night they had the misfortune to lose a canoe, which, owing to a severe storm coming on, it was not possible to recover. Its loss was embarrassing. They had to re-arrange their baggage. Jolliet had told them where, in case of necessity, they might find a canoe, which he had left behind him, in a *cache*. Owing to want of canoe space, it was arranged that some should walk along the shore until they reached the spot where it was hoped this canoe might be found. The weather turned cold ; and the advance by land was rough and painful. The snow fell, and beat in their faces with severity. They all met at Presqu'ile, where a portage was made to the large basin of water now known as Rondeau. Continuing their journey, they reached the spot described by Jolliet as that of the *cache* of the canoe. A diligent search was made. None could be found, it had been removed. They were now in great embarrassment ; without provisions, and without canoes for the whole party to leave the spot. Men were sent out to hunt. They found nothing. The difficulty had become extreme, when one of the men in search of dry wood for the fire had the good fortune to stumble on the canoe hid between two trees. They had mistaken the indications given them. In their want of provisions, they had, likewise, the good fortune to come upon a herd of deer, of which they killed six, smoking the meat which they did not eat.

They reached Point à Pelée : an unlooked for storm raised the waters of the lake and carried away much of their baggage, incautiously left on the shore imperfectly secured. As is frequently experienced at this end of the lake in easterly

winds, the level of the water rose some feet during the night and carried off much of the smoked meat. Among the articles lost were the portable chapel and the vessels for the religious services, and much of their gunpowder. They were thus unable to perform mass, either for their own edification or that of the savages, and one source of their strength in their effort of the future, was taken from them. They resolved accordingly to return to Montreal. Considering that the Ottawa was the best route for them to follow, they determined to ascend the lakes to Sault St. Mary. They possessed a general knowledge of the geography of the country. They knew that they had to follow the coast to find the entrance to the river, which they had to descend to go eastwardly. Moreover, de Galinée was then engaged on the map, which he afterwards completed, and by this journey he hoped to extend the experience by which he could be able to rectify his work. There likewise would be the advantage of seeing a new country in preference to returning by the route by which they had come. They followed the north shore of Lake Erie and ascended the River Detroit to Lake Huron. It is the first recorded ascent of these waters by a white man, although it is plain Jolliet must have followed the route.

Their intention was to gain Sault St. Mary and to join a party of canoes returning eastward.

As they proceeded, the old spirit of adventure was revived. Six leagues above the junction of the Detroit River, they came upon an Indian figure painted on the rock. It was an idol of the tribes who passed this way. They destroyed it or defaced it to the greatest extent possible. Either in their ascent or return they visited the Straits of Mackinaw. The weather must have been fine, and there could have been no difficulties in their progress, for they arrived at the Sault on the 25th of May. They found there, Fathers Dablon and Marquette, who received them kindly and invited them to attend the service in the chapel ; but, unlike the open-hearted Jolliet, the Jesuits gave the Sulpicians no information.

The exploration made during this journey is marked on the

map of 1670, which, under the circumstances of its production, is singularly correct. The country it relates to was at that date entirely unknown. Its defect is the omission of the Peninsula of Michigan. De Galinée went as far as the Northern Straits. As one looks at the islands laid down by him, the impression is irresistible that he actually saw the north of the Peninsula. Even with the defect I have named, this map entitles M. de Galinée to be honourably remembered among the early geographers of the Northern Continent.*

The Sulpicians were not impressed with the fort at the Sault. They looked upon it as of more use to the French than to the savage. They found that there were generally from twenty to twenty-five French there. The Indians, although in some instances baptized, were seldom present at the mass. It was not difficult to obtain baptism. At the mission of La Pointe, to the west of Lake Superior, the Jesuits, at this date, were unable to say mass publicly lest it should be looked upon as an act of sorcery. As the Sulpicians learned that the canoes had started for Montreal, they deemed it better to obtain a guide and proceed on their journey without delay. Moreover, they were made to feel that they were not wanted at the Sault; so, after a stay of three days, they took their departure. We learn from M. de Galinée's observations, some of the profits of the fur trade. A robe of beaver was exchanged for a fathom of tobacco; a quarter of a hundred pounds of powder; six knives, or one fathom of beads.

The Sulpicians reached Montreal on the 18th of June, 1670,

* The Jesuits were in possession of the information of which M. de Galinée was deficient. It is given on their maps which appeared in the Relations of 1670-1671. Lake Michigan is first described by them in the Relations of 1667, p. 18. "Leur [the Potowatamies] païs est dans le lac des Ilinoüek. C'est vn grand Lac qui n'estoit pas encore venu à nostre connoissance attenant au Lac des Hurons et à celuy des Puants entre l'orient et le Midy."

In the Relations, 1670, p. 92, Pére Allonez wrote: "Le quatrième sur le midy nous doublâmes le Cap qui fait le détour, et c'est le commencement du Détroit ou du Golfe du Lac Huron assez connû et du lac des Ilinouets inconnû jusques à présent beaucoup plus petit que le Lac Huron." In 1671, p. 25. The lake is spoken of as Lake Michigan. "De là ou entre dans le Lac appellé Mitchiganans à qui les Ilinois ont laissé leur nom.

making the distance in twenty-two days. By running the rapids they avoided all the portages, from forty to forty-five in number, excepting seventeen or so. The date is worthy of notice as suggesting that the men of de la Salle had previously arrived.

The visit of the Sulpicians to Lake Erie was not without its political consequences. The account of their having taken possession of the country, with the map, was forwarded to the King, and the event was recorded in the Archives of Paris as an act of possession. It was followed by a similar formal occupation of Lake Superior. In the fall of 1670, M. de St. Lusson, accompanied by Nicolas Perrot as interpreter, was despatched on this duty. He failed to reach Lake Superior that year and wintered on the shores of Lake Huron. In the commencement of 1671, he proceeded to his destination. On the 4th of July he met a Council of Indians, summoned by him from all directions. After some ceremonial observances, he declared the country to be a portion of the royal dominions of France.

From the West, Talon turned his attention to the North : in 1671, hearing of the activity being displayed by the English in Hudson's Bay, and considering that it was not to the advantage of New France to have, to the north of its territory, a powerful neighbour of the same nationality as that of New England to the south, Talon organized an expedition to ascend the Saguenay, and crossing the summit to reach the Northern Sea by some tributary discharging into it. It consisted of the Jesuit Father Albanel, M. de Simon, another Frenchman, and six Indians.

I will more fully describe the journey when I relate the history of the events which happened on Hudson's Bay, from Hudson's voyage of 1610 to the Treaty of Utrecht. The expedition of Father Albanel started in 1671, but in that year did not advance beyond the headquarters of the Saguenay. On the 1st of June, 1672, the journey was resumed. By the end of June they reached Hudson's Bay, on the waters of which they observed a vessel with English colours.

The problem which they had been sent to investigate had

been solved. A cross was erected and the country taken possession, with the usual formula, in the name of the French King. The party returned by the same route to the Saint Lawrence. By this ceremony, without regard to its previous history, the Hudson's Bay territory was hereafter to be looked upon in Canada as a French possession.

On all sides the spirit of discovery and enterprise was awakened. M. de Courcelles himself made a voyage up the St. Lawrence, with the view of firmly establishing French power among the Iroquois. Talon* proposed to the King the establishment of a fort on Lake Ontario, with a garrison of one hundred men, and that a ship should be constructed with sails and oars, so that it could navigate the lake and be seen in all directions by the Indians. Two months later † he suggested two settlements: one to the north, one to the south of the lake.

In 1669, Colbert wrote to de Courcelles that the King desired him to appear occasionally at Montreal, and further, that every two years he should visit the Iroquois country until the Iroquois had seen the whole of the French force, three and four, or five and six times, within their country. Acting on these instructions, on the 2nd of June, 1671, de Courcelles left Montreal for Lachine, from which place he started on his journey. He was accompanied by Perrot, Governor of Montreal, de Varennes, of Three Rivers, and other persons of position. No one of the party was idle, everybody paddled and worked at the navigation. The ascent of the Saint Lawrence was made in canoes. There was, likewise, one flat-bottomed boat. Above the Gallops Rapids, the last met before reaching Lake Ontario, de Courcelles took a canoe and passed through the Thousand Islands. On the 12th he looked on the waters of the lake, the first Governor after Champlain who beheld them. He made the journey in eleven days. The letters which he had brought for the Quinté missions he sent on by a messenger; he did not himself visit them.

* 10th September, 1670.

† 10th November, 1670.

On the 14th the return recommenced ; they were in the long days of summer. So three days only were necessary to return to Montreal. The account proceeds to say, ‘that everybody was greatly surprised that in fifteen days a large bateau was carried up and brought back from Otondrata ; the spot where the quiet water commences above the rapids.

M. de Courcelles had at this time been six years in Canada, and now, in November, 1671, he asked for his recall on account of ill-health. M. Talon likewise determined to proceed to France. There is a letter to him from the King, of the 17th of May, giving him authority to return to regain his health : the letter reads as much, as if it accorded leave of absence, as the acceptance of a resignation, and if it was in no way settled whether or no Talon should resume his duties. The change of Government, however, took place in the early fall of 1672.

The new Governor arrived in September. Louis de Buade Frontenac, Count of Palleau. His commission was read at the Council on the 12th of September, de Courcelles and Talon attending at the ceremony. On the 17th there was a full meeting, de Courcelles not having been present. M. de Frontenac addressed the Council, telling them that there was a war with Holland, and that his last orders were to return thanks for the conquest of D'Orsay, Wesel, Rhimberges and Burik, strong fortresses reduced in three days. He went on to say that although there was no reason to doubt the fidelity of the Council, his instructions were to administer a fresh oath and to call for renewed vigilance and integrity. A Declaration of War was officially made against the States General of Holland. At the same time a gift was made to Talon of the three Canadian villages constructed by him ; viz., the Bourg Royal, the Bourg La Reine and the Bourg Talon, to be incorporated into the Seigneury of des Ilets, of which Talon was proprietor and which was erected into a Barony. On the following day an order-in-Council was passed, that in consequence of the report made by Talon, of the land conceded to the inhabitants, with the number of arpents and the account of the persons and animals employed in working upon them,

the lands which had been conceded within ten years of the then date, should be diminished by half, and that the land so resumed should be re-granted. Talon, likewise, was requested to draw up some police regulations.

After a Te Deum had been chanted for the King's victories, Talon performed the last important act of his official life. He called for a statement of all monies due on account of the public service, that they might be satisfactorily arranged. No documents are extant to shew his motive in leaving the Province. He had the highest reputation in Canada, and in France was held in esteem. It has been supposed that he may have judged de Frontenac's character in the six weeks they were together, to be one which would make cordial and united action impossible. This view can be only surmise. One of de Frontenac's early proceedings had been to call together the people by orders in imitation of the States General in France ; and the political experience of Talon must have told him how distasteful it would prove at home. Such was the case, for de Frontenac, the following year, was told* that the proceeding was injudicious. That for a long time the King had not assembled the States General, possibly with a design insensibly to do away with† that ancient ceremony and it was not advisable to introduce it into Canada. Rather he should insensibly suppress the Syndics, so that each person should speak for himself, and no one for the whole. With whatever feeling Talon left Canada he never returned to it. Before his departure he recommended Jolliet to de Frontenac and despatched him to make the discovery of the Mississippi. His name, accordingly, is identified with the successful results of Jolliet's expedition.

Both M. de Courcelles and Talon left Canada in November. They had the good sense to hide from the public eye the differences of view which had arisen between them. Each had sincerely at heart the good of the colony; and both rendered it great service. They will always retain an honourable

* 13th June, 1673.

† anéantir.

place in our history, for their names are free from the stain which is attached to many reputations of those days. Neither scandal nor envy has left any record to throw discredit on their memory.

Talon could hardly have felt gratified by the unfavourable impression made by Perrot, the Governor of Montreal, who had married his niece, Madeleine de Laguide. A Captain of the Regiment of Auvergne, he had been appointed Governor of Montreal, by the Seigneur, on the 13th of June, 1669. He only arrived in Canada on the 10th of August, 1670, having, in company with Talon, the previous year been shipwrecked, himself, his wife, and the Intendant, narrowly escaping with their lives. The presence of Madame Perrot made an agreeable impression on Montreal society. In March of the following year, Talon obtained for Perrot a royal commission for the office he held : he also received the grant of Ile Perrot, by the western end of which the two Railways from Montreal pass towards the West. No sooner was he in possession of this property than he commenced an establishment, where he carried on an extensive trade of furs with the Indians, using brandy as one of the articles of barter. His Lieutenant, M. de la Fresnaye, left the service in order to direct operations there. His ensign, M. de Chailly, established himself on the main shore of the Saint Lawrence. With the latter there was, subsequently, a quarrel which, in October, 1672, was referred to the Conseil Souverain.

M. Perrot, likewise, took upon himself to settle questions of difficulty which did not fall within his duties ; and to obtain aid in his decisions he was in the habit of asking the help of M. Remy, of the Seminary, quarrelling with him when he had no need of his services. The irregularities under his authority were so serious that a deputation waited upon him to ask that a change should be made. Perrot placed in confinement the person deputed to address him, M. Migeon, then acting as judge. So great was the power of the Governor that the outrage passed away without any result. There were many such high-handed proceedings by men in authority, which the system

permitted to pass without reproof. The tyrannical conduct of M. de La Frédière is a case in point. Falling in love with the wife of a carpenter named Jaudoin, the husband was called upon to perform three days' work as a public duty and de La Frédière kept him illegally at work nineteen days so he should be separated from his wife. He arrested a man named Demers, who, not knowing him, reproached him for injuring his grain when looking for birds and game. He sold brandy to the savages in his own house when there was a law against it. Reports of these proceedings of M. de La Frédière were made to Talon, who brought his conduct under the notice of M. de Tracy, for M. de La Frédière was an officer of rank in the army. M. de Tracy ordered him home. His uncle, M. de Salières, wrote from France and complained of the treatment which his nephew had received. It is the record of the proceedings sent to France, to justify the course taken with regard to him, which has preserved the memory of this man's misconduct.

Shortly before the departure of M. de Courcelles, within six months of each other, both Madame de la Peltre, and the Mère de l'Incarnation, died ; the former on the 18th of November, 1671 ; the latter, on the 30th of April, 1672.

If we are to credit writers of this date, the name of La Chine* was applied to the place previously known during its occupation by de La Salle, by the name of Saint-Sulpice. The story runs, that de La Salle's men having left him, returned to their homes at this place. It had been previously stated that de La Salle was starting to find a new route to China and India. The wits of the time gave the name of China to the spot the men reached, as a record of the discovery which they had made. The incidental facts suggest that the statement is well founded ; and the tradition has always been preserved.

* China : the place still known by that name.

CHAPTER VI.

There were departures from Canada about this date of two important persons whose absence was necessarily felt, M. de Laval and M. de Queylus.

M. de Queylus left in the autumn of 1671. The principal cause taking him to France was the necessity of arranging his private affairs. He contemplated the establishment of a Home for invalid and aged Indians and he desired to continue on a settled plan the munificent contributions made by him to the settlement of Montreal. Talon writes of him to the King.* "I know no man more thankful for any favours you may shew him than M. de Queylus. . . . If he requires your protection he makes every effort to be worthy of it. I know him to be one most zealous for the good of the Colony." But M. de Queylus' constitution was broken. He could no longer take the part which he had hitherto done in the rough activity of Canadian life. He reached Paris in June, 1672, and retired to the Convent des Ermites, at Mont Valérian, five miles from the city on the road to St. Germain: then an open country, in our day one of the most prominent fortifications of the *enceinte*. It was hoped that the pure air would re-establish his health. He gradually became weaker. In the autumn of 1676, he returned to the Sulpicians at Paris, to die among them on the 20th March, 1677.

M. de Laval left Canada shortly before M. de Courcelles. His object was to make his position more satisfactory to himself. As Bishop of Petrea and Vicar Apostolic, thirteen years of experience had established in his mind that the uncertain tenure of his office could no longer be tolerated. Accordingly he proceeded to France with the firm determination not to return to Canada unless his request to be installed Bishop of

* 10th November, 1670.

Quebec was granted. Hitherto he had been sustained by the Seminary of Foreign Missions, and he had the satisfaction of believing that he had the support of the King. Three years after the Bishop's arrival in Canada, in 1662, the King had asked for the Bull establishing the Bishopric of Quebec. For two years the matter dragged on. In 1664, these efforts were renewed, the King writing personally to the Pope on the subject. It has been stated how carefully M. de Laval placed on record his own nomination by the King, as the first Bishop of Quebec, and, when M. Talon proceeded to Paris in 1668, M. de Laval prevailed on him to urge a settlement of the question.* The draft of a Bull was prepared at Rome and sent to France. It contained the clause that the King was absolved from any ecclesiastical censure that he may have incurred. Exception was taken in France that this phrase was never introduced except when some grace was accorded. Colbert went further, and said that if its insertion was insisted upon, the name of M. de Laval should appear as the one who received the favour, not the King. The Bull also set forth that the Pope nominated by right of patronage. It was objected to and proposed to be so amended, that the sentence should run in accordance with the Concordats. The Bishopric was also made to derive from the Holy See : a creation which made appeal against any sentence of the Bishop an impossibility, as such appeal must be taken to Rome, at an expense which would prevent any being made. It was contended that the Bishopric of Quebec should be made suffragan to a French Metropolitan, and the Archbishop of Rouen was suggested; or that if the form could not be changed, it should only subsist until additional Bishops were made in Canada and a Metropolitan could be established. Throughout 1669 great exertions were made at Rome to obtain the establishment of the Bishopric. The main difficulty lay in the nomination of the Archbishop of Rouen as Metropolitan, and when, in 1670, Talon returned to Canada, no arrangement had been effected.

At this time M. de Laval received letters from Rome which

* M. l'Abbé Faillon III., pp. 428-437.

made him uncomfortable as to his position, and as both M. de Courcelles and M. Talon were returning to France he determined also to proceed thither. It was represented to him that everybody desired the establishment of the Canadian Bishopric in his favour : the King, Colbert and the clergy, and that the sole obstacle lay in Rome, in some ecclesiastical objection of form. He resolved to act with decision, and he at once addressed the Propaganda on the subject. He informed the Cardinals of his presence in France, and he added the assurance that if he did not receive the necessary Bull he would not return again to Quebec as Vicar of the Holy Father. He suited his argument to those whom he had to address. "I have however learnt," he says, "by a long experience, how the position of Vicar Apostolic is little secured against those charged with political affairs ; I mean the officials of the Court, perpetually the rivals of and holding in scorn ecclesiastical power ; whose most common proceeding is to advance objections that the authority of the Vicar Apostolic is questionable, and should be restrained by certain limits."

M. de Laval's presence in Paris did not advance matters. Indeed, he remained in France three years. A question raised in Rome as to the payment of the "Annates," the first year's income, he himself was willing to arrange by the payment of the money, and he obtained the required amount. The difficulty most felt was in making the Bishopric depending directly from Rome. It was a point which the Pope would not yield ; for, indisputably, he held it to be a divine right which he possessed. Towards the end of 1673 the King withdrew his objections ; nevertheless, nearly a year had to pass before a satisfactory solution was obtained. It is not impossible that some verbal assurance was demanded, that if the King ceded this point to Rome some special arrangement would be made, enabling the Archbishop of Paris to receive appeals.

The King himself was certainly in earnest, for in addition to the Abbey of Maubec, he endowed the Bishopric of Que-

bec with the Abbey of d'Estrée, in Normandy, and agreed to make an annual payment of 6,000 livres for the support of the clergy. This, too, at the time when the allowance of the Governor-General of Canada was 3,000 livres : £120 sterling. At length, after three years of delay, the Pope, Clement X., established the Bishopric of Quebec on the 1st of October, 1674. On the 23rd of April, 1675, M. de Laval took the oath of fidelity to the King. There was no legislation by which appeal could be made against M. de Laval's ecclesiastical judgments anywhere but at Rome. Before leaving France, he united the Quebec Seminary, which he had established, to the Seminary of Foreign Missions at Paris. The union was confirmed by the Royal Edict of 1675. At the same time he made to it a donation of Ile Jesus, back of Montreal. M. François Berthelot, Commissary General of Artillery, had obtained the concession of this island. When M. de Laval was in Paris on the 24th of April, 1675, he negotiated the exchange of the Island of Orleans, which he then owned, with M. Berthelot, receiving in addition a considerable sum of money. Ile Jesus was given over to the Seminary with the reservation of its usufruct during his own life.

We have now reached the period when the discovery of the Mississippi took place. Much has been written on the subject, and the credit of the discovery has been maintained in opposite directions with a partisanship, which, in my humble judgment, the known facts do not warrant. They clearly establish that there was no positive knowledge of the Upper Mississippi prior to that given by Jolliet. It was only after an interval of some years that any claim was made to the contrary. There can be no doubt as to what Jolliet effected, and it will be necessary to narrate the events of his expedition, so that his claim to pre-eminence in this respect can be considered.

Louis Jolliet was a native French Canadian, born at Quebec, in 1645. The Jesuits' Journal of the 11th of July, 1648, mentions two little boys, Jolliet and Coste, in a procession in surplices, with crowns of flowers on the head, accompanying

the cross. Jolliet was educated by the Jesuits and attained to much scientific knowledge. He was also something of a musician, for it is recorded that on Christmas day of 1664 and on New Year's day, 1665, he was invited to supper* by the Jesuits, as one of those who directed the musical part of the church ceremonies. He must have been generally well informed, for we read† that in a public examination he answered particularly well in the matter of logic. It could not have been an ordinary affair for the Intendant Talon took part in it. It must have been on this occasion that he attracted the attention of Talon and, during his stay in Canada Talon constantly befriended him. In 1669, he sent him to prospect the shores of Lake Superior for copper; and the expedition to the Mississippi was one of Talon's last acts. Jolliet received the tonsure, and was for some time an ecclesiastical student; in 1667, he is mentioned as Clerk of the Church at Quebec. But he must early have left the College. It is stated that he went to France in October, 1667, and remained there until October, 1668. Speaking of the Mississippi, he described it as being finer than anything he had seen in France.‡

Jacques Marquette, the Jesuit priest, with whom Jolliet was associated, was born at Laon, to the north-east of France, the chief town of the department of l'Aisne. His family was one of some distinction. He arrived at Three Rivers in his twenty-ninth year, after having been some years in the order, for he joined it when he was seventeen. He died in 1675, so his career in Canada lasted nine years. After two years' residence in Three Rivers, principally given to the study of Indian languages, he proceeded to the Sault St. Mary. In 1670, he was established at the Western Lake Superior Mission, St. Esprit, known as "La Pointe." Not long afterwards, the mission was attacked by the Sioux, and the unhappy Hurons panic-stricken abandoned it, to establish themselves

* Le soir nous invitâmes les Sieurs Morin et Jolliet nos officiers de musique à souper.

† Jesuits' Journal, 2nd July.

‡ Je n'ai rien vu d'aussi beau en France.

on Great Manitoulin Island, and at Michillimackinac. Marquette accompanied them to the latter place to found the Mission of St. Ignace, on the northern coast of the Strait.

The Mississippi had for some time attracted attention. In 1670, Dablon, having heard of the river from the Illinois, wrote on the subject and expressed the hope that it would be discovered the following year. He was correct in his description that it was seven days' distance from the mission at Green Bay, running from north to south, and of such extent that, after "very many days' journey, they have not found its mouth, which must be in the Sea of Florida or that of California."

Jolliet, on receiving his commission, lost no time in making his way to Marquette, who, if we accept the Jesuit Relations of 1672, was the principal person in the exploration.* He arrived," writes Marquette, "on the day of the Immaculate Conception," 8th December. Talon, who, while he was constantly on his guard against the Jesuits and distrusted them, was ever careful to conciliate and be courteous to them. His experience of public life suggested to him the selection of a competent, energetic man, to conduct the expedition, and under the circumstances, he deemed it advisable that a Jesuit father should accompany it.

The first steps of the route were known in 1669. Father Allouez had been sent to found a mission on Lake Michigan, at the head of Green Bay, and he had advanced above Lake Winnebago. In the following year he was joined by Dablon, and they had explored some distance up Fox River.

Previous to leaving, Jolliet and Marquette drew up a map from such intelligence as they had been able to obtain, shewing the rivers they had to navigate. It was completed on Marquette's return. It shewed the River des Moines, the Missouri, the Ohio, with its tributary, the Wabash, and the Arkansas. They left Saint Ignace, with five Indians on the 15th of May,

* Le Père et les Français qui sont envoyés pour cette hazardeuse expedition.
Rel. 1672, p. 2.

The Jesuits thus appropriated to themselves the merit of the enterprise.

1673, to proceed to the point which had been reached by Allouez and Dablon. They were now entering an unknown country. At the Indian village which stood here, they obtained guides and ascended the Fox River. Without this assistance, the passage of the river would have been difficult, perhaps impossible, owing to the intricacies of the channel. They reached its head waters, and, after a portage of a mile and a half, landed their canoes on the Wisconsin. On the 17th of June, they reached the Mississippi, at Prairie du Chien. It had taken them ten days to make this distance from Fox River; starting from the point there previously known.

The descent of the Mississippi was commenced. For a fortnight not a trace of human life was seen, when their attention was attracted by the impression of footsteps in the mud of the western bank, with indications of a well-beaten trail, which Jolliet and Marquette determined to follow. The canoes were left with their men, and the two advanced on the unknown land. Those who live remote from civilization, cease to regard even the ordinary incidents of life, with the feeling entertained by men who dwell in cities. An explorer must always, more or less, carry his life in his hand. One of the earliest consequences of such a career is to learn self-reliance and to feel that whatever lies before him has unhesitatingly to be met in the face. As the two travellers were circumstanced, their safety lay in accepting these indications of life. The North American Indian was never a cannibal in the sense of eating human flesh as a luxury or from want. Sometimes he ate a prisoner under the teaching of tradition, in order to obtain foreign strength and valour. Man only devours man, as the Southern Islander, from the carnivorous instinct when there is no other flesh to be obtained. Jolliet and Marquette knew that there was fish in the river and buffalo on the prairie, and on that point they had no apprehension.

After a walk of two leagues they came to a village, where, by their shouts, they attracted attention. It was situated on the banks of a tributary river. As is usual in such cases, there is a dispute as to the locality. By some, River des

Moines is named as the spot, while it has been urged, that it must be a river further north. Their welcome being friendly, Marquette addresssd them in Algonquin, setting forth their object in view, and asking for information. They did not receive much assistance in this respect; efforts were rather made to prevent their further advance. But they were hospitably entertained, and when they started to continue their descent, they were escorted to their canoe by six hundred of the tribe, who further gave them a young slave and a calumet to produce, if stopped on their journey by unfriendly tribes.

The river was still descended. They reached the mouth of the Illinois, nearly fourteen hundred miles from the Gulf of Mexico, a distance the Recollet Hennepin tells us he made in a heavily laden canoe, including the numerous stoppages which he records, in twenty-three days, returning to the Falls of St. Anthony, seven hundred and sixty-two additional miles, in twelve days. The statements of Hennepin can be the better estimated as the descent made by Jolliet and Marquette is narrated. They passed the Missouri, the muddy and rapid discharge of which took them by surprise, but the Indians were skilful and experienced with the paddle. The Ohio presented no such difficulties, they met, however, Indians armed with guns, who wore cloth, and at first shewed some indications of being hostile; but the doubts entertained by them were satisfied by the explanation of the young slave and the production of the calumet. At the Arkansas there was a further exhibition of unfriendliness. For a short time an attack was threatened, but the attitude was changed to one of hospitable reception, with the usual ceremonies of eating and feasting. The travellers learned that it was dangerous to proceed, owing to the presence below of Indians armed with guns, and that for this reason they themselves never descended the river. The question which now arose was the course to take; to return with what information they possessed, or to risk their lives in further progress represented to be dangerous. They determined to retrace their steps. One important conclusion was formed, Jolliet considered that the expedition

established that the Mississippi could not discharge into the Vermillion Sea ; that from its geographical position, it must have its outlet in the Gulf of Mexico. He was, however, wrong in one of his inferences with regard to the mouth of the river, which he held to be situate at a less distance than it really was. Otherwise his deductions were those of a scientific geographer.

They commenced their homeward expedition on the 17th of July. They had been thirty days passing over the distance of 670 miles. At the River Arkansas they were 723 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi. They did not return by the same route. They ascended the Illinois River, and thence found their way to Lake Michigan, which they coasted to the Green Bay Mission. They arrived at the end of September, and passed the winter there, remaining until the spring of 1674.

In twenty months Marquette had ceased to be. The trials of this journey had given the finishing blow to a constitution already considerably shattered. In October, 1674, he was instructed to proceed and open a mission with the Kaskaskias on the Illinois. He complied with his orders, and left Green Bay on the 25th of October. He followed the Lake to Chicago Creek, which he ascended to the portage to the River des Plaines, the north branch of the Illinois. Marquette was unable to proceed further, and a log hut was built, and the winter was passed at this spot. In March the dying missionary continued his journey and reached the appointed place. But his health was completely broken. He now determined to return to Green Bay, for he felt that it was the only alternative by which his life could be saved. He reached Lake Michigan, and was coasting the eastern shore to gain the Straits of Mackinaw, when his weak condition made it impossible for him to proceed. On passing a small stream on the west of the State of Michigan he was put ashore, and there died.

In 1676, some Ottawas, to whom he had performed the offices of religion at the Saint Esprit Mission, opened the grave, obtained the bones, and in the Indian fashion dried

them. Placing them in a covering of birch bark, they carried them to Michillimackinac, where they were reverently buried with the most solemn rites of his Church, in the little chapel of the mission of Saint Ignace which he had founded.

Jolliet made his way to Quebec. He had the misfortune that when descending the Lachine Rapids his canoe was upset. He narrowly escaped with his life. Some of his crew were drowned. All his papers were lost. However, he prepared a map of Lake Superior, embodying his discoveries ; and sufficient to establish the character of the expedition.

On arriving at Quebec, in 1674, he found his patron, Talon, had left the country. Believing however that it would be acceptable to Talon, he called the river after Colbert's name, but that title lasted but for a short period. Dablon published the fact * of the voyage, describing Jolliet as one who had been where no European had ever set a foot. M. de Frontenac † announced to Colbert that the great river, in the existence of which he had so firmly believed, was now an admitted geographical fact. At that date Jolliet's discovery was accepted as genuine and undisputed, and de La Salle had then been for two years in close relationship with de Frontenac.

The claim which has been advanced for the priority of the discovery of de La Salle, renders it necessary to consider his career. Everything shews that soon after de Frontenac's arrival de La Salle placed himself in communication with him. As early as November, 1672, de Frontenac had determined to construct the fort at Cataraqui, and this policy could only have been suggested by some special influence. The proposal had been submitted to the King by de Courcelles, and some circumstance must have operated on de Frontenac to have led him to carry out the policy with the rapidity with which it was executed. The explanation is that the impression came from de La Salle. De Galinée tells us of his plausible

* "Relations inédites" subsequent to 1762, p. 193.

† 14th October, 1674.

address.* De La Salle, as early as May, 1673, was in the Governor's confidence; so much so that de Frontenac selected him to proceed to the Iroquois at Onondaga. De La Salle, at that date, was at Montreal. A promise to pay some monies dated the 18th of December, 1673, is extant, which shews that he was then at the house of M. Le Ber.

It was on the last day of September, 1669, that he separated from the Sulpicians at Tinaouatoua. His expressed intention was to return to Montreal. It is impossible to refuse the evidence of de Galinée that some of his men, if not all of them, reached Montreal in the fall of that year. We hear of him again in 1670. He was seen by Nicolas Perrot, the interpreter, on the Ottawa. The account of the meeting is significant in more ways than one. Perrot relates that, accompanied by five Frenchmen, he was descending the Ottawa with nine hundred Ottawas. Some distance to the east of Lake Nipissing, Perrot met an ascending party and stopped them to hear the news. He was told that some Iroquois in company with a few French were hunting below; that they had met the ascending party with friendliness and had given them food. Perrot's party became thoroughly disorganized, and the Indians declined to proceed further. His personal influence, however, prevailed and the journey was continued, but some Sauteur canoes did leave him. Perrot descended the Calumet Rapids, and had passed Portage du Fort some twenty miles and had gone down the Chats Rapids, when the party met de La Salle with six Frenchmen and ten or twelve Iroquois. The discovery of this party so worked upon the Ottawas that they again declined to proceed and wished to return home, especially as they had heard that there were other bands of Iroquois in the neighbourhood. The personal assurance of Perrot again prevailed. The Indians agreed to go onward, but they paddled all night without stopping.

The spot where de La Salle was seen is about thirty-three miles above the City of Ottawa, near to where the village of

* Parmi grand nombre de paroles dont il ne manque pas, p. 3.

Fitzroy stands. It was accessible to the Iroquois country. Paddling round Lake Ontario, de La Salle's party would have reached the River Cataraqui, to ascend it on the present route of the Rideau Navigation, to reach what is now known as Newberry. A canal has been cut here to connect the navigation with the upper Rideau Lake. At that date the portage would have been about a mile. Following the Rideau Lakes to the River Tay, a portage of two leagues would take them to the stream which we call the Mississippi,* a tributary of the Ottawa.

There are names in history which carry with them unusual respect. Among them is that of de La Salle. Had it been any one else found in this position, he would be spoken of as a *courieur de bois*. Indeed it is impossible not to apply this title to him at this date. He disappeared from civilization from October, 1669, till December, 1672. On the 6th of August, 1671, "in great want and need" he received from M. Migeon de Branssat merchandise to the value of four hundred and fifty-four livres, Tournois.†

In our day the claim has been advanced that in this period M. de La Salle discovered the Mississippi. In Canada, it has never obtained recognition. Indeed it was never made until after his death in 1687. In 1677 he himself put forth no pretension beyond the discovery of the Ohio. In his memorial he states that in 1667 and the following years he discovered a large extent of country south of the lakes; among his discoveries, the Great River Ohio. He proceeds to say that he followed it until he came to the spot where it

* In Canadian geography the river still bears the name of the Mississippi. There is no record of its exploration before the days of de La Salle. Is it a stretch of fanciful surmise that it obtained the name from de La Salle himself in some fit of self-reproach? All who have had experience in a life of adventure, know how frequently men of force of character, in the guise of some good-humoured absurdity conceal deep disappointment, and often express self-accusation. The name may have been given in mockery of himself that his discoveries had ended with the Chats Rapids of the Ottawa. Certainly the name of this river is inexplicable.

† M. l'Abbé Faillon.

falls from a great height in immense marshes at thirty-seven degrees of latitude, after having been increased by another wide river from the north, and all these waters, according to all appearance, discharge into the Gulf of Mexico.*

It is quite certain that in the one thousand and five miles of the Ohio from Pittsburgh to Cairo there is no spot answering this description. There is no lake or marsh as described. There is but one fall, that at Louisville of about twenty-two feet.

In examining the question it is proper to bear in mind that no person has ever been named as making explorations to the south of Lake Erie except de La Salle. No mention is made of the discoverer of the Ohio. The opinion has been formed in my mind that the Ohio was reached by de La Salle in 1670 or 1671, but at the time when he was on its waters he did not know it was a river tributary to the Mississippi. The whole country is full of lakes and streams, of which there was no knowledge but that obtained from the Indians ; and, invariably, that knowledge required to be tested by experience and fact. What suggests that de La Salle only saw in the Ohio an ordinary stream of no geographical importance, is the fact that he took no steps to declare French sovereignty over the territory, as Dollier and de Galinée had done on the shores of Lake Erie, and St. Lusson at Sault St. Mary. We cannot but feel, that had the importance of the discovery been known this step would have been taken ; and which, subsequently, de La Salle did take at the mouth of the Mississippi. Moreover, few would believe, if the fact were not indisputable, that a few miles above the Falls of Niagara, ten miles back from Lake Erie, the waters there found, run south-

* il découvrit le premier beaucoup de pays au sud des grands lacs et entre autres la grande rivière d'Ohio. Il la suivit jusqu'à un endroit où elle tombe de fort haut dans de vastes marais à la hauteur de 37 degrés après avoir été grossie par une autre rivière fort large qui vient du Nord ; et toutes ces eaux se déchargeant, selon toutes les apparences dans le golfe du Mexique. Mémoire de La Salle, 1677.

ward to the most important eastern tributary of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and that they are therefore really in the valley of that river.

The connection between Lake Erie and the Ohio is exceedingly simple and must have been well known to the Indians, if they were not even sure what the river itself was. Leaving the shores of the lake at the modern Portland, a portage of three or four leagues carries the traveller to Lake Chataqua, from whence issues the river Alleghany. By following this stream to its junction with the Monongahela, the commencement of the Ohio is reached. The distance does not exceed one hundred miles, about four days paddle. It was the route followed by Céloron de Bienville in 1753. There is a second route which leaves Lake Erie at Presqu'ile. There is here a portage of some leagues to the place afterwards known as Fort le Bœuf, whence the French Creek is followed to its junction with the Alleghany at Venango; from which point the route to the Ohio is the one described. De La Salle, doubtless, found his way in this labyrinth of waters. As Jolliet's discovery became known, and the position of the Mississippi became established, he knew that he had been on the waters of the Ohio, as de Galinée had seen the north of the Peninsula of Michigan without knowing that it was the mainland. Except de La Salle's statement, there is nothing to shew that he descended the Ohio. His description of the river is at variance with its true character, and little weight can be attached to the later reports and conversations which have been worked up into a consecutive narrative.

Early in 1673, de Frontenac commenced his operations to construct Fort Cataraqui. Its necessity was based on the desire to control the fur trade;* to direct the peltry to Montreal in the place of allowing it to descend to Albany; the commencement of a struggle yet being carried on for the possession of the Western trade. It is yet a problem to be decided whether the commerce of the Upper Lakes can more profitably pass to the sea board at New York or by Montreal. At

* De Frontenac to Colbert, 2nd November, 1672.

that date the Iroquois traded with the Western Indians of the Mississippi Valley, bartering what they themselves received from the Europeans for the furs which the Western Indians possessed. It was considered that by the construction of the fort, most of this traffic would be placed under the French control, the Iroquois crossing Lake Ontario to meet the Western Indians at Cataraqui ; and at the same time that the fort would be a material guarantee of French power.

One fact stands in prominence, that when the fort was constructed there was no means of garrisoning it. Canada was without troops. The Carignan-Salières regiment had been disbanded, and established on the seigneuries ; or they had been recalled to France. Louis XIV. was engaged in his war against Holland ; he had no men to send to Canada. In 1674* de Frontenac reported the population to be 6,705 souls. From the smallness of the number the statement had caused the King disappointment. He estimated that from the emigration directed by him to Canada, the population would have increased to a greater extent. De Frontenac on his arrival had asked for reinforcements.† They could not be furnished. He was told that he must drill the inhabitants, to use them in case of need, to accustom them to war, and that he would have to rely on the fighting force which he himself could embody and discipline.

If the fort could not be garrisoned, it would simply be a depot of trade, and it could only be advantageous to those who possessed the traffic, and contrariwise injurious to those not participating in it. Had Fort Frontenac been available to common enterprise, and all equally could have proceeded thither to compete in an open market for what could be bought and sold, the result would have been that some portion of the trade of Montreal would have been at once transferred there, and a settlement would have grown up. Men would have established themselves under the protection of the fort, and trade would have been carried on on a healthy

* 17th May, 1674.

† 2nd November, 1672.

basis. It is due to M. de Frontenac to say that he received no encouragement to carry out any such policy. On the contrary, the King objected to the settlers being separated. Louis desired that they should be kept together in towns or villages, so they could defend themselves ; and he directed that they should be retained as near the sea as possible, in communication with France.

It was by the last vessels of 1672 that M. de Frontenac informed Colbert that he would construct the fort in spring, adding that it was his intention personally to ascend the river. To carry out this plan he ordered the inhabitants to attend with canoes. It was a public service, they had therefore, to perform it without payment, giving gratuitously their time and canoes. It was no light labour and loss at this early season of the year to be absent from six weeks to two months from their homes, to encounter the labours and privations of the expedition, and to construct the fort two hundred miles above Montreal. It was thought a new stretch of the royal prerogative to exact this forced labour without payment, and the expedition caused much dissatisfaction, whether expressed or not. De Frontenac himself caused to be constructed two flat bottomed boats, each capable of carrying sixteen men with cannon. He painted them with bright colours, and sent them to Montreal, where the expedition was organized. De La Salle was despatched to the Onondagas to inform them of the intention of de Frontenac to visit the mission of Lake Ontario, and to request the attendance of the Indians at a council. The design to construct the fortress was concealed. The expedition was represented as proceeding to Lake Ontario to meet the Indians, in the interest of maintaining peace, and to establish friendly relations. M. de Frontenac left Quebec on the 3rd of June. The few troops at Quebec with the Major, Prevost, were ordered to be present at Montreal on the 24th. Most of the leading persons were called upon to attend. As de Frontenac descended the Saint Lawrence he visited the Seigneurs who were established on the river bank, who, on their part, made every effort to receive

him, even more than hospitably. He arrived at Montreal on the 15th. He himself organized the expedition, subdividing the men into troops, and obtaining the material necessary to the fort. The timber he could gather on the spot. In order to embark the men and guns with greater facility, he improved the road to Lachine, reconstructing it. Two Sulpicians accompanied the expedition, Messrs. d'Urfé and de Fénelon. The canoes, one hundred and twenty in number, were divided into squadrons. Including the Indians, the force consisted of 400 men.

On the 28th of June they were assembled at Lake Saint Louis. As they were ascending the river, de Frontenac received letters from de La Salle to the effect that the Iroquois would join him at Quinté to the number of two hundred, including the principal chiefs, upon which the two Sulpicians were sent to the mission at Quinté to direct the Iroquois there present to proceed to Cataraqui. De Frontenac assigned as the cause of the change that he desired to treat them all alike to shew that he had no preferences for the Indians domiciled at Quinté. As the expedition advanced towards Lake Ontario, on the 12th of July, de Frontenac arranged the canoes in four lines in military order, and in this imposing array it reached the River Cataraqui, to the east of the present City of Kingston. The artillery barracks are constructed on the site of the scene I have to describe. The force disembarked and was placed under canvas.

No one could possess more dignified and courteous manners than M. de Frontenac. He had lived in the best society of the court and the camp, and he had acquired all that polish of manner and quiet grace which have been the mark of the higher ranks in France for two centuries. On this occasion he was more than usually pleasing.

The Chiefs accepted the visit as a mark of respect to themselves and gave assurance of their own fidelity. De Frontenac addressed them in language marked by sense and eloquence. M. Le Moyne de Longueuil was called upon to translate what he had said; and during the time that the meeting was taking

place, M. Raudin traced out the lines of the fort. The organization was complete. Some dug the trench. Some cut the timber, others squared and trimmed it. The savages looked on ; they had difficulty in understanding the amount of timber being so dexterously hewn. An audience was promised by M. de Frontenac on the 16th. at eight in the morning. The meeting took place. His discourse was on the necessity of embracing Christianity. It has been preserved and breathes the most lofty sentiments. He ended by telling them that he affirmed the present peace, which included the Indians under French protection, and that the first who broke it should be hanged. He then explained that he had constructed the fort for the purpose of commerce, so that trade could be carried on at that spot, rendering their descent to Montreal unnecessary, and that its establishment in reality was made in their interest.

On the 20th of July the Iroquois took their leave. They were succeeded by others of the tribe equally docile and obedient, and alike charmed by the reception given them.

Events in the meantime were happening in New York which threatened to prove embarrassing to de Frontenac, with the small force at his command. The treaty of Dover had worked its influence. The English Court had found a cause of quarrel with the Dutch, and a declaration of war had been made in 1672. Each of these events caused considerable emotion with the Dutch inhabitants of New York ; and the report that the Duke of York had publicly made profession of Roman Catholicism, had so affected the public mind that many determined to abandon the country and seek a settlement elsewhere. In the end several parties from New York did proceed to Carolina. In 1673, a Dutch Squadron had been sent to make prizes on the commerce of the English Colonies. It was commanded by Admirals Binkes and Evertzen. After several captures on the Coast of Virginia, hearing that there was no preparation for defence, they determined to attack New York. Lovelace, the Governor, was absent when the news of the approach of the Squadron reached New York, .

the fort was under the command of a Colonel Manning. The English inhabitants came forward and offered their services to defend the country. Manning would listen to no proposition of the kind. He sent down a messenger to Staten Island to make terms with the advancing fleet: what was accorded him was absolute unconditional surrender. Accordingly, the surrender was made before the vessels were even in sight without a shot having been fired, and the Dutch sailed up and took possession of New York in July, 1673. They held possession of the city until spring, 1674. By the treaty of peace signed in London, on the 20th of February, all conquests were restored, and so New York again became English, to remain under British rule for another century.*

In 1674, de La Salle proceeded to France. He applied for a grant of the fort at Cataraqui, conditionally, on his paying the cost to the Crown. At the same time he solicited letters of *noblesse*. M. de Frontenac sustained the request. After some hesitation, the application was granted. De La Salle, in his petition, used the term Fort Frontenac; and, in the concession of the 13th of May, it was so called. De La Salle was appointed its Governor, and received the grant of four leagues of land in its neighbourhood with the adjoining islands. He was held to pay the cost incurred of ten thousand livres and to bring into Canada property to the same amount; to maintain the fort, and to keep a garrison there equal to that of Montreal. Twenty men were to be employed during two years in clearing the land; a church was to be built in six years, and ecclesiastics maintained: with some other conditions. He was also granted letters of nobility.

* The event created feelings strongly antagonistic to the English authority, as the Prince of Orange had been elected Stadtholder; and until the revolution of 1688 the Dutch of New York regarded English rule as that of a foreign power. It was the accession of William III. which affirmed the loyalty of their allegiance. Manning was afterwards tried in London for his infamous cowardice. He pleaded guilty; but *he stated that he could not be punished, as, since his return, he had seen the King and the Duke of York.* The plea was admitted. Instead of being shot, as his disgraceful poltroonery suggested, he received the mild sentence of having his sword broken above his head, and being declared unworthy again to serve the King.

De La Salle obtained the necessary assistance from his friends, the money was paid and he assumed possession of his grant. In 1675, he demolished the old fort, and rebuilt the post with stone, with curtains and bastions. When the work was completed, the men who had been engaged upon it left the place. The only period when a garrison was to be found at Cataraqui, was when the men met there to proceed on an expedition. In 1677, when visited by de Frontenac, it consisted of the Governor, a Major, a Surgeon, two Recollets, and four other persons. A modern writer commenting on the operations of de La Salle in obtaining possession of Cataraqui, has remarked that they prove that the fort which he had engaged to establish, was less a colony than a mere commercial station.*

* M. L'Abbé Faillon, III., p. 474. Ce fort fut moins une colonie que La Salle avait promis d'établir, qu'un simple comptoir de commerce.

CHAPTER VII.

M. de Frontenac is accused by contemporaries unfriendly to him, of being actuated by personal motives in his support of de La Salle. In other words, that he participated in the profit of the enterprises. It is difficult to free him from the suspicion. It is stated that he came to Canada a man of ruined fortunes, and that his main hope of bettering them lay in the advantages which his position conferred. His allowance, 3,000 livres, equal to £120 sterling, was ridiculously small, and it can only be supposed that the authorities in France must have known that he could not exist, without some supplementary source of income. That M. Perrot, the Governor of Montreal, was engaged in the fur trade is a matter of notoriety. A scene is recorded between the latter and some Indians, who, in some transaction of trade placed aside some skins for the Governor-General. Perrot claimed them for his own. "Do these people take me for a knave of diamonds?" he cried. "If they want the Governor-General, let them go to the Iroquois country after him. When he is not here I am master for the King."

On the return of M. de Frontenac from his voyage to Cataraqui, M. Perrot went to Quebec. M. de Frontenac called him severely to account for his leniency to the *coureurs de bois*. These men not only found countenance with the Governor, but they were generally popular in Montreal. They mainly sustained the trade of the place; when with the inhabitants they freely spent their money, and were not interfered with. M. de Frontenac directed that they should no longer be tolerated; on the contrary, that they should be severely punished and the system discontinued; and orders were given that the law against them should be rigidly enforced.

Shortly after Perrot's return, in accordance with his instruc-

tions from Quebec, d'Ailleboust, the Judge, arrested two *coureurs de bois*, reported to him as being in the house of M. de Carion, a man of some position engaged in the trade. The latter assisted the men to escape, and insulted d'Ailleboust, who at once made a report of the affair to de Frontenac. The insult was too marked to remain unnoticed. De Frontenac sent Bizard, the Lieutenant of his guards, with three soldiers, to arrest de Carion. The arrest was made, and the Lieutenant proceeded to the house of M. Le Ber, where before taking his departure he left a letter for the Governor from the Governor-General. The proper course would have been to commence with this proceeding, and to have notified M. Perrot of the nature of his orders. Perrot, who had been informed of the circumstances, proceeded to the house of Le Ber, and after reproaching Bizard for what had taken place, summoned the Judge and Notary, in order that he might submit Bizard to an official examination. Bizard refused to answer any questions, so he was committed to prison : he was, however, released the following day.

Bizard, previously to leaving for Quebec, drew up in technical form a narrative of what had taken place.* It was signed by Le Ber and de La Salle. Perrot immediately arrested the former. The latter he placed under surveillance, but de La Salle was not the man to remain quiescent in an unsatisfactory position, so he escaped and made his way to Quebec. Le Ber was a merchant, and his presence was indispensable to his affairs. His wife, a Le Moyne, was so affected by his arrest, that she was confined to her bed, and unable to take his place in the business. All that Le Ber could do was to send a report of his position to Quebec.

M. de Frontenac immediately took steps to vindicate his authority ; and he acted with the subtlety which occasionally marked his proceedings. He entirely concealed the anger he felt and sent orders for the release of Le Ber, and at the same time instructed Perrot to proceed to Quebec to explain his conduct. During these proceedings he commenced a cor-

* In French ; a *procès-verbal*.

respondence with M. de Fénelon, with whom he was friendly, the Sulpician having accompanied him to Cataraqui. The tone of his letters was as if he were desirous of settling the matter without scandal. M. de Fénelon had obtained the concession of the Iles de Courcelles and the grant had been accompanied by a letter as friendly as it was courteous. M. de Fénelon himself had been impressed with M. de Frontenac. He had not hesitated to speak to him confidentially of the course pursued by M. Perrot, which had caused trouble in Montreal. M. de Fénelon, desirous of acting the part of a peacemaker, shewed these letters to M. Perrot. The latter, as he calmly reflected upon his own conduct, must have seen in its true colours the act of arresting the Lieutenant of the Governor's Guards engaged in the execution of his duty by the Governor's orders.

These events occurred in the fall of 1673, after the return from the building of Fort Frontenac. In January, 1674, M. Perrot, accompanied by M. de Fénelon, proceeded to Quebec down the river on the ice. What must strike any student of Canadian history is, the indifference shewn by all classes of that time to the severe privations of winter. The records of their proceedings establish that their conduct was in no way influenced by the most trying period of the year. The passage from one place to the other was not then made with the appliances of modern comfort, in sleighs where ease is the first consideration, with robes and furs to wrap around the person to defy cold, and with hostellries at stated intervals, in which food and warmth can be obtained. It was only in 1665 that Louis XIV. sent twelve mares to Canada; and if a horse had been available for so long a route, the road was unbroken, except in the neighbourhood of Three Rivers. The journey had to be made on snow-shoes; and a tramp of one hundred and eighty-one miles down the Saint Lawrence in February, is no slight tax on endurance. The history of those times shews that it was looked upon as a matter of course.

M. Perrot and M. de Fénelon arrived at Quebec, and, on

proceeding to the fort to wait upon M. de Frontenac, Perrot was met by the Lieutenant of the Guards he had himself imprisoned, who demanded his sword and placed him in close arrest. The matter, at an early meeting, was brought before the Conseil Souverain.

M. de Frontenac had early seen that the Council might be made to partake his responsibility, and yet be kept under his control. In January, 1673, when he made them renew their oath of office, he told them that even as Solomon had recommended that God should be always before their eyes, so they should have the King and his laws constantly in their thoughts. After telling them that the King desired that justice should be administered with equity, he called upon them to uproot the spirit of chicanery which was apparent, and which would cause great disaster unless it were restrained.*

The Council had been engaged throughout the year as a Court of Appeal, in adjudicating on the causes brought before them. The records show that the blame cast on the litigious spirit of the people was no mere phrase, for upwards of ninety cases had exacted their attention. In 1674, on the 16th of January, M. de Frontenac again addressed the Council. He pointed out that the members had so well performed the duties assigned them that he would be greatly in the wrong if he thought of making any change ; a delicate way of bringing to their recollection that it was in his power to do so. He drew their attention to the fact that the Dutch had conquered New York from the English, and that he had been informed that a pressing solicitation had been made to the Iroquois to declare war against the French. In Canada they had to watch the situation vigilantly, and it was necessary to bring matters into system and subordination, in order that they might be feared by their neighbours ; and he exhorted them to aid in establishing these relations.

* "apliquons nous mesme par aduance à deraciner autant qu'il nous sera possible des esprits des peuples de ce pais vne certaine inclination de chicane qu'ils font paroistre. Et qui pourroit causer de grands desordres dans la suite si l'on [n'] en coupoit le cours." Vol. I., page 709.

On the 30th of January the arrest of Bizard was brought before the Council. Legardeur, de Tilly and Dupont were instructed to examine into the case. On the same day, the petition of Jacques Le Ber was considered. It set forth that he had been imprisoned for signing the *procés-verbal* of Bizard, that he had suffered great injuries, and asked that his name be taken from the record of the jail, and that M. Perrot be made to pay the expenses he had incurred. This petition was likewise referred. On the 8th of February there is the record that Perrot had refused to make any answer to the queries put to him, and that he had taken objections to the Council as a whole, and to the particular members charged with the inquiry. M. Perrot was called upon to give his reasons for this challenge.

Although the quarrel between M. de Frontenac and M. Perrot affected the Seigneurie of Montreal in the matter of privilege, the Seminary did not deem it prudent to interfere. Nevertheless, they felt bound to place on record a protest against the appointment of M. de La Nauguère by M. de Frontenac to act as Governor of Montreal in the place of M. Perrot. The protest was made before their Judge, M. d'Ailleboust. There was another point on which they were dissatisfied : M. de Brucy, with two of his people, were arrested at Ile Perrot for contravention of the law against the *coureurs de bois*, and M. Gilles de Boisvinet, the Judge of Three Rivers, had been ordered to attend at Montreal to conduct the proceedings against them, and to carry out the orders with regard to the *coureurs de bois*. M. de Boisvinet exceeded his instructions and intervened in some local dispute. M. Dollier de Casson temperately addressed M. de Frontenac on the subject, to the effect that if he had not protested against this course it had been out of respect for M. de Frontenac. No result came from the complications ; and on the 14th of April the proceedings against M. de Brucy were placed in connection with the matter of M. Perrot.

The Council were not idle with regard to the main facts of M. Perrot's imprisonment. It was ordered that Carrion, who

had been arrested at Montreal, should be examined with regard to the opposition made by him to the arrest of the *coureurs de bois* in Montreal. The men were well known by name ; le Breton, Camus, and Guillaume Yvelin.

On the 13th of June, a petition was presented by M. Perrot. It stated that he had been imprisoned since the 26th of January. Having been instructed to travel to Quebec, he had done so in the hope that matters would be amicably settled in accordance with the letters written by the Governor General to the Abbé de Fénelon. He protested against the Council adjudicating on the matter, especially against Legardeur de Tilly, on the ground that the Acting Governor named to take his place, Sieur de la Nauguère, had married the daughter of de Tilly's niece ; that both were under the control of the Governor, who could change the Council as he saw fit. The petition was declared frivolous and inadmissible, and the continuation of the process was ordered. M. Perrot was directed to submit his case in the ordinary manner, and was called upon not to repeat the same offensive language. It appears by this petition that M. Perrot had been examined on five occasions in February and one in March.*

The Abbé de Fénelon felt greatly chagrined by the arrest of M. Perrot. He lost no time in waiting upon M. de Frontenac. The meeting increased the unpleasantness. The Abbé endeavoured to communicate by letter with M. Perrot. The proceeding was held to be a breach of the law, which allows no communication with a person under interrogatories.

M. de Fénelon returned to Montreal, and his subsequent conduct shews the extent of his mortification. If he had correctly judged the situation, he would have seen, that if the power of M. de Frontenac was able to reach one holding the position of M. Perrot, he could not with impunity attack it. M. de Fénelon, however, imagined that he held at his disposal means of attack, which, while offering him full power of assault, furnished him equally with full power of

* 8th, 9th, 10th, 12th, 17th February, 19th March.

protection ; the pulpit. It was by no means to be the last occasion in Canada, when the place which should be devoted to the inculcation of charity, religion and morality was to be made the medium for creating discord and hatred. There will ever be a class of men, mistaking the promptings of their own interest or of their passions, for public duty, who pervert the opportunities for good which they possess by their position as public instructors, to the purposes of malignancy, wrong, political partisanship and greed. They are found in all creeds. Against such as these, it is to be hoped that the law in Canada will ever be supreme and execute the justice which the malfeasance calls for.

M. de Fénelon had been named the preacher for Easter day, in Montreal. The services were then held in the chapel of the Hôtel Dieu, used as the Parish Church. Upwards of six hundred persons were present. The sermon* was from the Gospel of the day, St. John xx., 13. *Mulier quid fles?* "Woman, why weepest thou?" In his sermon, M. de Fénelon described the ideal first magistrate as animated by Christ raised from the dead. That as he was exacting in the punishment of faults committed against the service of the Prince, he was as ready with pardon to those who attacked his own person ; that he was impressed with respect for the ministers of the altar, and did not ill-treat them, when, in order to perform their duty, they endeavored to reconcile enemies and establish peace ; that he did not place creatures in power in order to praise him ; that he did not, under specious pretexts, oppress those persons also clothed with authority, who, serving the same Prince, opposed his enterprises ; that he used his power not for his own advantage but to maintain the authority of the monarch, who, looking upon his subjects as his children, acted towards them as a father ; that he was content with the gratuity which he received, and did not disturb the commerce of the country, and did not ill-treat those who withheld from him a share of their profits ; in fine, that he did not harass a

* M. l'Abbé Faillon III., 493.

people by extraordinary and unjust *corvées** exacted for his own interest in the name of the monarch, who in no way understood that his people were troubled in this form.

It was impossible to fail to see the application of these remarks to existing circumstances. They appealed directly to the feelings of those who took part with M. Perrot, being accompanied by a commentary to shew that the treatment of M. Perrot was harsh and unjust. Moreover, there was a special claim to popular sympathy in the allusion to the forced labour of those who had accompanied M. de Frontenac to Lake Ontario. But while thus appealing to prejudice and feeling on one side, he awoke in another direction passions as strong and partizanship as devoted.

M. de La Salle was sitting not far from the door, not within the preacher's view. In order to hear more distinctly, he rose from his seat. As the preacher continued, de La Salle, in the most marked manner, expressed his dissatisfaction and motioned to many in the congregation ; he even attracted the attention of M. Remy, the priest, seated in the chancel, who shrugged his shoulders as if in surprise. The scene caused excitement. M. de Bellefontaine, the Brigadier of Guards, who was present, in his testimony, stated that he observed M. de Fénelon change colour. The consequence was that public attention was fully directed to M. de Fénelon's words, and their application to the Governor was everywhere accepted : particularly on the delicate question of the *corvées* which he had enforced.

At the close of the service, the priest, M. Remy, did not fail to express this opinion somewhat curtly to M. de Fénelon. M. Cavelier, the brother of de La Salle, proceeded at once to M. Dollier, who, from sickness, had been absent. M. Dollier was then Superior of the Seminary. At the same time he was the chief representative of the Seigneurie of Montreal. He saw

* The word *corvée* has no English equivalent. It cannot be translated by "Statute labour," for the phrase would convey the idea of a legal obligation. It is labour arbitrarily enforced with or without law, for which no payment is made. Familiarly, it has acquired the meaning of compulsory and disagreeable work.

that the application of M. de Fénelon's words to the *corvées* might prove embarrassing. By his direction, M. Cavelier called on Le Ber to explain that the sermon was entirely the production of M. de Fénelon, and was in no way pre-arranged with the Seminary. He also requested Le Ber to see Cavelier's brother, and with him repeat his explanations to the Governor, M. de la Nauguerre,* in order that the matter could be correctly reported to M. de Frontenac. So important did the matter seem that M. Dollier rose from his sick-bed to visit the Commandant, but de la Nauguerre hearing of his intention, went himself to see M. Dollier. The latter made the same personal explanations, and added that while he was Superior of the Seminary, M. de Fénelon should not preach again.

When M. Dollier addressed M. de Fénelon on the subject, he denied having made any application to M. de Frontenac. One reads the fact with pain. M. de Fénelon was a gentleman of ancient lineage, who had set aside the brightest prospects of life to come to Canada in the cause of religion, and had led a blameless, honourable, useful life. But in this crisis, when called upon to answer for his imprudence which, when sustained by truth and elevation of character, might have been pardoned, and even have obtained sympathy, he descended to the meanness of subterfuge and falsehood. It is one of the first instances in our Canadian annals of a man of his *status*, thus sacrificing his personal dignity. It would be fortunate if we could here write that it was the last.

M. de Fénelon replied that his sermon was general, and it applied to every one in high office. Had M. de Frontenac been personally present he would have used the same language. The Sulpicians, however, as a matter of ordinary policy, regarded the tenor of the sermon as entirely devoid of prudence. The line of conduct followed by them shews the change of opinion even in the ten years which had passed since the time when M. de Laval excommunicated those, with whose commercial policy he differed, and when from the pulpit he personally attacked the Governor, M. de Mézy. Ecclesi-

* The founder of the family known in Canada as de La Naudière.

astical political power had been greatly curtailed, although its pretensions had not been abandoned. The silent, undemonstrative effort to obtain control over the public policy was still exercised. It must have been felt that little was to be gained by such injudicious conduct as that of M. de Fénelon. Accordingly the Sulpicians addressed a letter to M. de Frontenac, expressing regret that the sermon had been delivered, and a desire that it should be affiliated to the ecclesiastic alone who had delivered it.

It was a course which policy suggested. The Superior, M. Dollier, was a man of character, who had given sufficient proofs of his courage and devotion to his calling. He saw clearly that a priest of the Seminary in attacking the Governor with regard to *corvées* called for in the royal service, was in the wrong, and that it was wise and proper unhesitatingly to admit the fact, and to satisfy the personage who had been attacked. It is probable that this course would have attained its purpose, and that with some exchange of letters the matter would have passed away. But M. de Fénelon was irrepressible. Madame Perrot, no doubt at the instigation of her husband, endeavoured to obtain signatures to a memorandum generally justifying his conduct. After applying to parties in prominent positions, who declined to interfere, she asked the aid of M. de Fénelon. He accepted the position and went from house to house to solicit signatures, and owing to his influence obtained several.

In circumstances of this nature the defects in the character of M. de Frontenac assumed their most repellent form. Obstinate in his opinions, incapable of listening to contradiction, viewing every question from the side affecting himself, impressed with his possession of power, and as representative of a monarch in a system of personal government, likewise possessing absolute authority, any opposition to his policy he regarded as opposition to himself. In this crisis he committed the serious mistake of requesting the Seminary to dismiss M. de Fénelon as a factious personage from their number. The request was at variance equally with civil as with ecclesi-

astical law, for M. de Fénelon had been convicted of no crime, and the Governor-General had no power to interfere with any religious house. M. de Fénelon, however, judged it expedient to leave the Seminary, and to retire to Lachine. M. de Frontenac went further; he drew up a series of questions and requested a reply to them by each member of the Seminary. The request was refused with dignity; so the matter was brought before the Conseil Souverain.

In the month of June, M. d'Ailleboust, MM. Migeon de Brausset, Le Ber, with Jean Milot and Pierre Chesne, were summoned to Quebec to give evidence on this matter. We have the amount of the expenses which they were allowed: fifty livres, the two last named received but thirty and twenty livres. M. Dollier also arrived. As he was too ill to attend the Council, his testimony was taken at the Seminary. He had fallen through the ice during the winter, and had narrowly escaped with his life. He was now suffering from the effects of cold and exposure; he received one hundred livres.

The declarations being taken, M. de Frontenac desired to obtain a copy of the sermon, on the ground that it contained seditious language. This application was made to M. de Bernières, acting in the absence of the Bishop as Grand Vicaire. The request was forwarded to M. Dollier. When M. de Fénelon was applied to for a copy, he answered that he was not bound to give one of a sermon preached in public before his congregation; that evidence could be obtained from those who had heard it, and that if he had committed a crime, he could not be called upon to aid in his own condemnation. The question of the rights of the civil power, in a case of this character, was thus avoided by the higher ecclesiastics; and M. de Frontenac complained to Colbert that the application on their part was all a sham.*

M. de Frontenac, seeing himself foiled, addressed a letter to the Seminary asking for explanations, not to be used as evidence, but because he desired to know the facts of the case. The Sulpicians threw the blame of the scandal on de La Salle

* Seulement par grimace.

for his conduct in church : it was he, they said, who had been the cause, that the remark was made to apply to the *corvées* in the expedition to Cataraqui. They considered that there was nothing to excite to sedition in the sermon, though they thought it ill-timed.

Among the priests of the Seminary was M. d'Urfé, a man of family, like most of the early priests of the Seminary : a cousin of M. de Fénelon. He had been a missionary at Quinté, and had worked side by side with M. de Fénelon ; always a great link in any relation of life, especially with ecclesiastics. M. d'Urfé subsequently addressed a memoir to Colbert on the subject. He stated that the fear of M. de Frontenac had so worked on the inhabitants that scarcely a person in the country would receive M. de Fénelon in his house. M. d'Urfé felt, therefore, the greater reason not to abandon him. Consequently, he went down to Quebec, and waited upon M. de Frontenac, to give him a letter from M. de Fénelon. No sooner was the letter read than M. de Frontenac informed the Sulpician, that it was only from the personal consideration he had for M. d'Urfé that he did not order his arrest and that of the men who had brought him to Quebec. M. d'Urfé kept perfectly calm, and replied that he was not aware that he had committed any crime, and so retired. The men, on their arrival in Montreal, were arrested, and M. d'Urfé complained that he had difficulty in finding a servant.

M. de Fénelon was cited before the Conseil Souverain. He had made an appeal to M. de Bernières, acting in the Bishop's absence as official, but the Council declared that the case was one of privilege and could only be dealt with by the Civil power.

M. de Fénelon, summoned to Quebec, did not proceed to the Seminary, but occupied lodgings at the Brewery. On the 21st of August he appeared before the Council.* From the proceedings, it appears that the delay had taken place at the request of the Attorney-General. There was a full meeting of the

* Con. Souv., Vol. I., pp. 817-819.

Council, M. de Bernières only being absent. The proceedings of the Council are stated with great moderation ; and they establish that prudence was not among the good qualities of M. de Fénelon. On entering, he proceeded to take a seat, in itself an act of defiance. The Governor told him that he must remain standing. M. de Fénelon replied that he could not act in disregard of his privileges as an ecclesiastic, and sat down at the end of the table. He claimed also the right to sit covered. The Governor replied that there was a distinction between ecclesiastics summoned to give evidence and those arraigned for crime. M. de Fénelon replied by placing his hat more firmly on his head. He then walked up and down the room, and said his pretended crime was in the brain of the Governor, and was without foundation. The Governor, for the third time, explained that the Council in no way desired to attack the privileges of the clergy, as they existed in France, and that which was now asked was only what was there customary ; and that M. de Fénelon ought not to be deficient in respect to the head of the Council. Upon this remark, M. de Fénelon replaced his hat, which he had temporarily removed, and answered that the Governor should not be deficient in respect to his character as an ecclesiastic. M. de Fénelon was requested to leave the room. It was resolved he should be interrogated a second time. On the second occasion, M. de Fénelon took a seat away from the table and uncovered, upon which the Governor remarked that if he would not take the position required he must leave the room : upon which M. de Fénelon advanced to the foot of the Council table and asked if it was that body who gave the order. The Governor replied that the Council spoke by him when he was present. M. de Fénelon replied that the Governor should not be present being a party to the cause, and that he should accordingly retire. It was then ordered that M. de Fénelon should attend on the following Thursday, and be called upon to reply, and, in the mean time, to present his case in answer to the citation ; and, seeing the disrespect with which he had acted, he was to be held a

close prisoner in his lodgings under charge of an usher of the Court.

On the 23rd of August, the Council again met, when M. de Fénelon submitted a protest against the proceedings of the Council. He set forth that his only competent judge was his Bishop, and that to him only he would make reply. He proceeded to set forth why he considered M. de Frontenac the opposite party in the case. It was stated at the meeting that M. de Bernières had been twice called upon to attend, and that twice he had refused to be present. It was resolved again to summon him. The Secretary proceeded to the house of M. de Bernières and returned with the reply that he had not refused to give evidence, and that when the queries had been subjected to him in writing he would answer. The Secretary also reported that the question had arisen, as to the manner in which he would be received. No doubt the scene in the Council in which M. de Fénelon had figured had occasioned comment. Answer was given that M. de Bernières would be received with the same civility as in France. The latter expressed his willingness to attend if received as Vicar General and representative of the Bishop.

During the proceedings, M. de Fénelon said that he was ill, and was accordingly allowed to retire, to remain a close prisoner at his lodgings, only to go out to say mass on Sundays and Saints' days at any church he preferred.

M. de Bernières attended, and having been requested to be covered and to take his place near the Attorney-General, declined to do so. His place he maintained was at the spot where he was in the habit of sitting when taking the place of the Bishop. It was alleged that since the arrival of M. de Tracy, this custom had not been followed, no ecclesiastic having represented the Bishop at the Council. M. de Bernières declined to accept this view and so retired. There was a meeting on the 27th, when the Court adhered to this opinion. M. de Bernières again appeared, and explained that he did not act from any feeling of disrespect towards the Council, but that he was fearful of doing anything to interfere with the

privileges of the Bishop. The courteous and temperate conduct of M. de Bernières led the Council to give the questions in writing for him to reply to. On the 29th of August, M. de Fénelon was called upon to produce his sermon and the memorial in favour of M. Perrot, to which he had obtained signatures ; at the same time he was relieved from close arrest.

The affair dragged on. No progress was made. The Council hesitated to proceed, and was fearful of taking responsibility in any direction. M. de Fénelon refused to produce his sermon. There was a dead lock. At this date one of the Sulpicians arrived at Quebec on Seminary affairs ; he was summoned before the Council. He declined to appear, and although detained at Quebec, persisted in his refusal. The Council suggested that the matter should be referred to France ; and, at this stage, M. de Villeray declined to act in the case of Perrot, assigning as a reason that Madame Perrot was the niece of Talon, to whom he was under obligations. M. Perrot, during the whole of this period, remained a prisoner in spite of repeated demands that his case should be judged. Finally, he petitioned to be sent to France ; or that the Council would declare that he was detained a prisoner at the request of the Governor alone.

In the middle of November, M. Perrot and the Abbé de Fénelon were sent to France. M. d'Urfé determined to accompany them on account of his health. A great sufferer from sea-sickness, he desired to take his servant with him. It is not to the credit of M. de Frontenac, that he refused to allow the servant's departure ; availing himself as the reason of his refusal, of the King's order that no one should be permitted to leave the country.

On M. d'Urfé's arrival in France, he found himself a personage. The Marquis de Seignelay, Colbert's eldest son, had married Marie Marguerite d'Allègre, a daughter of one of the most distinguished families of Auvergne, and one of the richest heiresses in France. She was a cousin of M. d'Urfé, and hence the Sulpician at once obtained the *entrée* to the

inner circle of M. Colbert. His true object in proceeding to France was to complain that M. de Frontenac had opened letters sent home by the Sulpicians and had stopped such as had displeased him.

The conclusion of this difficulty sounds strangely to modern ears. The record, however, is of value to shew the inconsistencies which spring from personal government. M. de Fénelon was censured and ordered never to return to Canada. M. Perrot was shut up for three weeks in the Bastile. He had, however, the weight of Talon's support, so, in a short period, he received authority to return to his Government in Montreal. M. de Frontenac was blamed for assuming powers beyond his sphere. In order hereafter to make the Council independent of the Government, the members were to hold their appointment directly from the King. And what had a greater bearing on the position of M. de Frontenac, it was determined to send out an Intendant to Canada, in the person of M. Duchesneau.

Colbert wrote to de Frontenac that he was not to look upon faults with severity, and that he must act with more gentleness. With regard to M. d'Urfé, Colbert remarked, that the Sulpician was now connected with him by marriage, and that he claimed from the Governor consideration for M. d'Urfé on this account.

The King wrote to de Frontenac informing him of the course taken with regard to M. de Fénelon, but called upon de Frontenac to live in accord with the Sulpicians, and that it was not advisable to take criminal proceedings against any one of them. With regard to M. Perrot, the King said, that for his conduct in imprisoning an officer of the Governor's Guards, he had been imprisoned three weeks in the Bastile ; and that with the ten months' imprisonment in Canada was enough to make him circumspect in future, and be a warning to others. De Frontenac himself was blamed for exercising unusual authority in his Government, without communication with the King.

Perrot, in returning to his government, was requested to

see de Frontenac, and to make satisfaction to him ; while de Frontenac was requested not to show rancour. Colbert also wrote, that de Frontenac would confer a singular pleasure on him by granting to Perrot his favour and protection.

The victory really lay with de Frontenac, but by the matter being settled, without any authoritative decision being given, the difficulty was simply tided over. All ecclesiastical quarrel was avoided. On one side of the question, the result was disadvantageous to M. de Frontenac. His authority was seriously impaired. For the future the Councillors would be named by the King, and so be independent of him. Moreover, an Intendant was to arrive in Canada, to participate in the power, which, hitherto, he had possessed undisputed and uncontrolled.

CHAPTER VIII.

The commission of M. Jacques Duchesneau, of the 5th of June, 1675, tells us that he had been the royal treasurer at Tours. He was appointed Intendant of Justice, Police, and Finance. He arrived at Quebec with M. de Laval, now Bishop of Quebec, in September, 1675. The voyage established a perfect understanding between them, for they remained the closest friends, while M. Duchesneau was in Canada.

One of the instructions to M. Duchesneau was that he was to be the presiding officer at the Council, to conduct the proceedings and record the votes. It was regarding the extent and character of this power, that the quarrel between himself and the Governor subsequently took so decided a character. Another matter unwelcome to the Governor was the appointment of M. de Villeray as First Councillor.* The latter had given strong evidence that his sympathies were not with M. de Frontenac. One of the grounds which he had assigned for his refusal to act in the case of Perrot, was that he had been suspected by the Governor of being Perrot's adviser. It was true, he said, that he had received a note from Perrot,† brought when he was at play at the house of Bazire, then the agent of the Company, when M. de La Salle was one of those present. He had not replied to it, except in a letter to M. de Fénelon, in which he had said all that he thought necessary. He could not, however, recollect what he had written. He had withdrawn from the proceedings also, assigning the family relationship named. He had, likewise, an imperfect remembrance of what he had said and done on other occasions. On his petition, at the meeting of the 3rd of October, 1674,

* Con. Souv., Vol. I., p. 988, 16th of September, 1675.

† Cons. Souv., Vol. I., p. 847.

stating that he had been nominated Councillor, he was again installed, when M. de Lotbinière was also appointed. The number of the Council was thus increased to seven.* There was the difficulty with regard to M. de Villeray's position that M. de Frontenac had received no notification of it, although M. de Villeray was himself in possession of his commission. M. de Frontenac was willing to appoint him as Councillor, on this authority, to take rank according to date, but declined to do so as the First Councillor. M. de Villeray would not accept the appointment on these conditions, and would not attend the meetings. Accordingly, he was not present at the annual address of the Governor on the 7th of January, 1675.

It is impossible not to recognize M. de Frontenac's capacity, and on this occasion he spoke with his usual ability. After asking from them the strict performance of their duty, he drew the attention of the Council to the *coureurs de bois*, and informed them that his last despatches had ordered that none who were arrested should be pardoned. He called upon the Councillors, therefore, as they were taking their oath of office, not to do so as a sham, or as a matter of custom, as no edict demanded their attention more than the one bearing upon these persons.

The commission of M. Duchesneau had been enregistered in September, 1675. The royal edict increasing the number of Councillors to seven, followed, and M. Duchesneau assumed the office of President. On the minutes of the meeting of the 23rd of September, there is a marginal note by de Frontenac that the register should state that M. Duchesneau was performing the functions of President. The Royal Commissions of the Councillors were also read, M. de Villeray being named first Councillor. The other members of the Council were,

* The increase of the number of Councillors to seven is shewn from the proceedings of the meeting of the 3rd of October, 1674, to have been made at M. de Frontenac's representation. "Le dict Seigneur gouerneur a dict qu'il est vray que dans sa depesche, il luy est marqué en vn article que sa majesté pouruoit encor deux Conseillers de Conseil Souuerain pour composer le nombre de sept ainsy qu'il luy auoit proposé." Cons. Souv., I., 859.

Legardeur de Tilly, Damours, Dupont, Chartier de Lotbinière, de Peyras and De Vitré. D'Auteuil was appointed Attorney-General. On the same day, Fort Frontenac was ceded to de La Salle, and the Seigneury of des Islets, belonging to Talon, was erected into the Barony of d'Orsainville. At the subsequent meeting, the concessions granted by de Frontenac were confirmed; thus establishing the principle that no grant of land by him was valid until it was officially registered.

In October, the Intendant called a meeting of the inhabitants to discuss the representations made to him, regarding the ordinance which imposed duties upon furs, liquors, and tobacco. On the 20th of the same month a royal Edict was registered, in which M. Duchesneau was instructed to report the extent of the concessions, which had been made, with the number of persons established upon them. By these proceedings, M. Duchesneau put forth a claim to complete independence of the Governor and in no way did he neglect the opportunity to assert himself.

M. Duchesneau shewed in another direction that he was not prepared to cede his views to those of M. de Frontenac. Early in his career he ranged himself on the side of M. de Laval, and became entirely subservient to the opinions and policy of the Bishop, and M. de Laval gave the weight of his support to M. Duchesneau. In 1676, the Intendant issued some police regulations. After a general prohibition of blasphemy against God, the Virgin, and the Saints, which appears to have been a mere exordium of what was to follow, M. Duchesneau took upon himself to declare that: "Persons of the religion claimed to be reformed, are forbidden to assemble for the exercise of their religion within the extent of this said country under penalty of punishment according to the rigour of the ordinances; the same will not be allowed to winter in this country without permission, and if any do winter here for legitimate cause, they shall have no public exercise of their religion and shall live similarly to the Catholics, without causing scandal."* One has only to read what M. Dudouyt wrote to

* Conseil Souverain, Vol. II., page 72.

M. de Laval from Paris in 1677,* which embraces much that is said in the Intendant's Edict, to understand the extent to which M. Duchesneau and the Council had taken the side of M. de Laval. The Intendant had not yet reached the belief of M. Dudouyt, that the Huguenots were disloyal to France, and that if a war broke out they would range themselves on the English side; a fit argument for the persecution of a creed! And this happened at a period when Colbert was shewing tolerance in matters of religion, and encouraging Protestants skilled in manufactures to establish themselves in France, so much so as to call for remark from Madame de Maintenon.† At the same time, M. Duchesneau claimed an official seat in church during religious ceremonies. In the eye of the world it enhanced the importance of his position. As the recipient of such religious courtesies, he obtained an acknowledgment of his *status*; and its recognition would warrant the assumption of increased power. The seat in the church, the presentation of the *pain bénit*, the ceremony of being incensed, and precedence in the reception of the Sacrament, had official meaning; and from the support given to him by M. de Laval in this respect, the Intendant could take a higher place in the Colony. M. de Frontenac looked upon these claims as covert attacks of his position. It was no figure of speech that, to cross his path, was to awaken a sleeping lion. His courage and firmness, his constancy of purpose and determination, for good or

* Canadian Archives, 1885, page cv.

† "M. de Colbert," she wrote, "ne pense qu'à ses finances et presque jamais à la religion." On this quality of Colbert, Clement remarks, Chapter XX., p. 393: "On se souvient qu'il avait écrit en faveur des juifs établis à la Martinique. Le manufacturier hollandais et protestant Van Robais qu'il avait attiré à Abbeville, s'étant plaint à lui de quelques tracasseries qu'il éprouvait à cause de sa religion le 16e Octobre, 1671, Colbert adressa la lettre suivante à l'Évêque d'Amiens; 'J'apprends que les entrepreneurs de la manufacture d'Abbeville ont congédié leur ministre par déférence qu'ils ont eue à la remontrance que je leur fis en la dite ville. Cependant ils se plaignent fort que le Père Marcel, Capucin, continue à les presser par trop. Je suis bien aise de vous en donner avis affin qu'il vous plaise de modérer le zèle de ce bon religieux, et qu'il se contente d'agir à l'egard des gens-la ainsi que tous les religieux du royaume agissent à l'egard des huguenots.'"

for evil, quailed before no opposition. He thoroughly understood the nature of the Intendant's pretensions, and the matter was referred by him to France. Colbert told Duchesneau to observe a becoming respect to the Governor, and to be careful not to become a partisan of the Bishop. With de Frontenac, he took the more friendly tone of recommending him to keep on friendly relations with the Intendant. The quarrel was specially unpleasant to the King. He reminded de Frontenac that he was his representative and that this fact ought to lead him to overlook trifles. Colbert administered a sharp rebuke to Duchesneau.*

In 1677, the Bishop sent M. de Dudouyt, one of his Grand Vicars, to France. His mission was to include many points in dispute connected with his diocese, especially on that of furnishing brandy in trade to the Indians. Few questions are more marked by difficulty in their consideration, nevertheless if it be approached without partizanship it can be fairly examined. M. de Laval has hitherto been a great name in our history ; and to invoke his authority on any point has been considered the settlement of a dispute. Moreover, the facts have been related so as to justify such favourable conclusions. That the Bishop should exercise the fullest control over the clergy of that day, followed from the position he occupied. He had lately returned from France, confirmed as the Bishop of Quebec. There was no appeal against any act he saw fit to perform : his power was despotic. The early Sulpician priests, mostly connected with powerful families in France, had hitherto possessed in their influence at home a certain protection against any arbitrary proceeding on the part of the Bishop of Petrea, when the Pope's Vicar Apostolic ; but

* 8th May, 1679. Quoted by Mr. Parkman : " A memorial has been placed in my hands touching various ecclesiastical honours, wherein there continually appears a great pretension on your part, and on that of the Bishop of Quebec in your favour, to establish an equality between the Governor and you. I think that I have already said enough to lead you to know yourself and to understand the difference between a Governor and an Intendant ; so that it is no longer necessary for me to enter into particulars which could only serve to show you that you are completely in the wrong." Part Fifth, p. 47.

as Bishop of Quebec, his power had become greatly increased ; practically, he was irresponsible.

The clergy of Quebec and Three Rivers had always been directly under his control ; and they had shewn the impress of his school of theology. There was no priest in Canada but held his position at the mercy of the Bishop, without any guaranteed right. Any one objectionable to M. de Laval could be immediately removed. No ecclesiastic ever held greater power than M. de Laval in the first years of his episcopal rule. Nevertheless, he felt no desire to come into collision with M. de Frontenac ; and as he controlled Duchesneau's weak mind he preferred to carry out his own policy by the Intendant's intervention.

It, therefore, is no argument to use the words of Charlevoix and to affirm that the Bishop, clergy and missionaries all complained of the traffic. The same may be said of the innuendo of Charlevoix's subsequent statement, that the secret had been discovered of persuading the Council, that the trade in brandy was necessary to attach the natives to French interests.*

The trade had lately received an impulse by the Ottawas sending their furs from Lake Superior and its neighbourhood, likewise from the Indians from the Northern Mississippi finding their way to Montreal. It was the one means of support to Canada, and it was a trade which attempts were constantly being made to divert to Albany. The population of Canada was small. In 1674, de Frontenac reported it at six thousand seven hundred and five ; in 1680, Duchesneau, at nine thousand four hundred. Of this number there were five or six hundred *coureurs de bois*. "There is not a family," wrote the Intendant,† "of any condition or quality soever, who have not children, brothers, uncles and nephews among them." The Dutch traders under English rule were making every exertion to gain the trade, which de Frontenac,‡ described as passing by Chambly to Lake Champlain. He recommended

* Charlevoix, Vol. I., p. 454.

† 13th November, 1680.

‡ 2nd November, 1681.

that M. de St. Ours should be placed there with some men to stop the traffic. The beaver skins fetched a higher price at Albany than at Montreal. Payment was made for them in dollars ; when merchandise was furnished, it was at half the price asked at Montreal. Duchesneau * drew a picture, highly coloured, of the *coureurs de bois*, but his object was to prove that de Frontenac participated in the profit of their proceedings. He sets forth how every one contravenes the King's directions : that parties were collected with astonishing insolence to trade in the Indian country ; that, in spite of ordinances, merchants furnished them with goods ; that men in position harboured them ; that several of the families of the first rank were connected with the trade, with the connivance of the Governor ; and he states positively that the *coureurs de bois* were carrying their peltry to the English.

He names M. Du Luth as the most refractory of the number, as being in the Governor's confidence, and that the Governor's Secretary, Barrois, was Du Luth's partner, that Du Luth's brother-in-law was an officer in the Guards. The very Indians complained that there were too many French at their posts. He drew the inference that the country was ruined by the absence of so many of the male population, neglecting the cultivation of the ground, abandoning their families, leading to the infidelity of wives and to general demoralization.

One of the main articles of currency was brandy. As at all times, its immoderate use led to great mischief. There were frequent scenes of riot and debauchery ; and much of the misery and suffering among the Indians was attributed to the fact, that brandy was plentifully introduced among them.

M. de Laval had early taken the ground that no spirituous liquors should be permitted in the trade. To this opinion he always adhered, bringing the power which he possessed to bear upon every ecclesiastic in Canada ; so that many advocated his policy with a vehemence equal to his own. The

* 10th November, 1679.

trade, however, had taken such a hold on Canadian life, that it could not be arbitrarily disturbed, without injuriously affecting every household in the colony. The ablest men in civil life saw the necessity of granting perfect freedom to trade operations, and of not harassing them by depressing regulations. One of the last acts of Talon was to permit the use of spirits as an article of commerce. M. de Laval, who knew Indian life only as he had seen it about Quebec, formed his views upon that experience. He took upon himself to declare that those dealing in liquor committed a mortal sin, and in de Mésy's day he excommunicated them. It would be a strange condition for a country, to allow an ecclesiastic, however high his rank, to assume the right of determining that which is expedient and necessary ; to condemn all proceedings not in accordance with his views ; to set the civil power at defiance ; and to create a new standard of morality and a new calendar of crime. Such was literally the case in this instance. Men of the stamp of de Frontenac, with a vigorous intellect, saw that the political view of the question was the first to be considered. It was never denied that the practice led to abuses ; and that such abuses required to be adjusted, legislated for, and as far as practicable amended. The truth is that the fur trade was the one source of wealth. The *habitant* had learned to raise flax, to dress it, and his wife and daughters had been taught to spin. His farm gave him food ; his family made his shirts, and knit his stockings. A home manufactured cloth was produced, from which his dress was obtained. Thus he was no consumer of imported goods, except for the tools indispensable to his labour, and they did not require frequent renewal. The importations from France for the most part consisted of articles to be trafficked with the Indians, independently of what was indispensable to the three small cities. To refuse to include "*eau de vie*" in the articles of barter with the Iroquois who desired to obtain it, was to send him to Albany, where he would find it. To reduce the Canadian trade with the Indian within narrow limits, was to part with political influence. It was to transfer elsewhere the

power which the French possessed, and to impoverish every Canadian family.

M. de Laval could only recognize the bad and demoralizing influences, which were sufficiently serious. It was much, as at this day, the occasional accursed influences arising from strong drink were presented as the one and only consequence of its use. That the Bishop exaggerated them we have the word of Talon ; and after inquiry, that opinion was accepted by Colbert. M. de Laval had expressed his opinion, to adhere to it. He managed to draw the weak and incompetent Duchesneau to his side in this as in every other point. Had Duchesneau been an able man, he would not have quarrelled with de Frontenac about being incensed, about the *pain bénit* and a seat of honour in church ; he would have taken his legitimate place as the third personage in Canada, and have striven to aid in the solution of this difficult and painful problem. It was his misfortune to come under the influence of the stronger mind of M. de Laval, to be used by him as the Bishop saw fit : to issue an edict against Protestants meeting to worship God, to indulge in whining complaint against the trade of the country, to act in steady opposition to those in authority, with no remedy to propose, with no policy, with no defined views, and with only the weak generalities which his letters set forth.

As the civil power at this date, under the vigorous administration of de Frontenac, had obtained a strength which M. de Laval could not resist, as has been before stated, in 1677 he sent M. Dudouyt to Paris.* This ecclesiastic, a man of marked ability, was of the school of those who had frequented the Hermitage at Caen. He arrived in Canada in 1662 to remain in the country twenty years.

On reaching France, M. Dudouyt lost no time in waiting upon Colbert. He was received with cold politeness ; while, at the same time, “in a loud and severe tone not usual in

* The country is indebted to Laval University for the publication of this important paper. M. Dudouyt's Report extends over seventeen pages of the Archives Report of 1885.

public audiences," the minister pointed out that the clergy in Canada wished to interfere with matters which did not concern them, and that they should confine themselves to their religious duties. M. Dudouyt produced the opinion of six professors of the Sorbonne, designed, no doubt, to prove that the Bishop had a right to interfere in all commercial matters which he looked upon as immoral, and to excommunicate under this view all who did not accept his political doctrine. Colbert was the last man to be impressed with such reasoning. M. Dudouyt then asked an additional subsidy for the clergy.

Fifteen days passed before the second meeting. It took place at Colbert's Chateau at Sceau, seven miles from Paris. Colbert, at the first meeting stern and unimpressible, on this occasion became kindly and even somewhat sympathetic. Colbert invariably distrusted the Jesuits, and he could here trace their interference. Moreover, his patient labour had led him fully to examine the question. He had had the opinion of Talon, and that of the ablest men to whom he could appeal to guide him in his inquiry. M. Dudouyt pointed out the difference between the white man and the Indian. The latter drank to get drunk. When liquor was brought by the *coureurs de bois* into an Indian *bourgade*, men, women and children remained drunk till it was finished, even if the drunkenness continued for a month. Colbert replied that the statement was an exaggeration and sustained his opinion by that of Talon. The priest pointed out that Talon was the cause of the disorder in having permitted the traffic to be carried on. "What is your remedy?" asked Colbert. "To give the Indians little liquor at a time and at long intervals," was the reply, "as is done at Tadousac." Colbert's practical mind suggested that those from whom some of the furs had been obtained, whether of their own or other tribes who were not present, had also to be paid for the furs furnished by them. If this could not be done satisfactorily, the furs would be taken to Albany. Indeed, the complaint was then made that many furs passed in that direction as to a better and more profitable

market. The Grand Vicaire foretold the destruction of the church. "The Church," said Colbert, "had lasted for the twelve years that the King had governed France." The Bretons and Germans were self-indulgent in respect of drink, and no ill-result had followed to the cause of religion. Colbert urged that the matter was not one for clerical interference, and that if the Bishop excommunicated on that account, it might be regarded as an abuse, which he would order the Council to take in hand. He desired that the Bishop and clergy should govern themselves by the principles observed by the Bishops in France.

Then came up the theme on which M. de Laval never lost an opportunity of asserting his opinion. M. Dudouyt represented that no Huguenot should be permitted to winter in Canada; stating as a reason, that the French Protestants would side with the English in the event of war. Colbert would not consent to any arbitrary order on the matter. M. Dudouyt in his letter to the Bishop adds that he knew that it was resolved to allow the merchants to winter, consequently, he had suggested that when it happened that a Huguenot was compelled by urgent reasons to remain, he should be obliged to explain the cause of the necessity, and then be permitted to stay for one year only.

Colbert expressed his dissatisfaction with the policy of making the *cures* removable as the Bishop saw expedient. M. Dudouyt stated that when parishes were in a proper condition, fixed *cures* would be established. The promise has never been carried out. "I see plainly," adds M. Dudouyt, "that nothing will be permitted which does not conform to common usage in France, or is not in favour of the political system."

There was some question with regard to permits on leaving Canada for France. The Bishop desired that the priests should be perfectly independent of the Governor in this respect. The instructions of Louis XIV. vigorously enforced that not only, no one should leave Canada without permission but even that passes should be obtained to proceed from

place to place. It was the non-observance of this regulation which formed the main difficulty with the *courreurs de bois*. They set the order at defiance. The regulation had been applied to ecclesiastics. It was to remove the restriction that the present application was made. M. Dudouyt recommended Bishop de Laval to make a remonstrance to the King on the subject.

With regard to the liquor traffic, he informed the Bishop that nothing would be done for a twelvemonth. Colbert had referred the matter to Duchesneau for examination. The advocates consulted by Colbert had sustained the policy of giving liquor to the Indians. M. Dudouyt recommended the suspension of all excommunication against traders, so as not to irritate Colbert, as the latter felt strongly on that point. He had also been desirous of removing the scandal propagated at Paris, that there were really no Christians amongst the Indians. There is one caustic remark about "M. de F" [ronnenac] which shews that there was anything but cordiality between the Governor and the Bishop.

M. Dudouyt, in advising M de Laval to make a remonstrance to the King, did not disdain the cunning of the serpent in giving his advice. It was scarcely necessary to the able man he was addressing, whose published correspondence certainly establishes that he well knew how to suit the word to the occasion. It was to the effect that the remonstrance should conform to the views of the Sorbonne, giving facts and circumstances. "General conclusions prove nothing," remarked M. Dudouyt, sententiously. Nothing should be said against the legal information sent by M. Duchesneau, unless on clear proof. And then breaks out that deference to power observable in all conditions of life ; but in no way more evident than in personal government. The King was to be flattered as to the intention in the establishment of the Colony. It was to obtain for the poor infidel knowledge of the true God ; nothing more glorious to His Majesty, "nor more powerful to draw upon his sacred person, and his kingdom the blessing of Heaven, etc. I give this only as an example," adds M. Dudouyt, "for

it can be much better put."* The advice was not lost on M. de Laval; but he did not write; he proceeded himself to France in 1678.

M. Duchesneau had written to Colbert, thoroughly sustaining the Bishop. Colbert wrote back that M. de Frontenac entertained a contrary opinion, and that before ranging himself on the side of the Bishop, M. Duchesneau should inform himself of the crimes attributable to the use of strong liquors and send the proofs to France. Without such proofs, no judgment could be formed. The general policy of the country could not be made subordinate to the opinions of the Bishop, who, in order to destroy an abuse, which a few might create with regard to a matter good in itself, desired to do away with commerce in a commodity which greatly aided in attracting trade, and which, likewise, brought the Indians themselves in relationship with orthodox Christians.

Colbert also wrote to de Frontenac informing him of the application of M. Dudouyt. If what had been urged was true, steps should be taken to prevent liquor being carried among the Indians. If these disorders were exceptional cases, and the Indians were merely accustomed to get intoxicated as the Germans or Bretons, "then His Majesty desires, you use his authority, not taking direct steps against the episcopal authority, but to prevent by royal authority that the episcopate does not attempt anything beyond the province of the Church, in matters purely of police;" and he called upon him to select twenty persons in the colony to examine into the question.

On the 16th of October, 1678, the matter came before the Council, and a selection was made of twenty persons to report the murders and other crimes arising from the use of liquor

* "Il faut commencer cette remontrance faisant veoir que la premiere et la principale intention du Roy dans l'establissement de cette Colonie a Esté de procurer a ces pauvres peuples infidelles la Connoissance du vray Dieu, et les moyens de leur Salut, de les instruire et les maintenir dans l'exercice du Christianisme rein de plus glorieux a Sa majesté, n'y capable d'attirer sur sa personne sacrée et sur son Royaume les benedictions du Ciel, etc. je dis cecy seulement pour Exemple car on le mettra beaucoup mieux. Canadian Archives, 1886, p. cviii.

during the past six years. On the 26th of October, owing to the absence of three members, their places were filled; among the new appointments the name of de La Salle appears. On the 2nd of November, Dupont, having obtained permission to proceed to France, was charged to present the information obtained. The report of the Commission was in favour of the traffic in spirits. It stated that the disorders were not serious, that the Dutch from Orange and Manathe used liquor in the trade, and that in order to enable the French to compete with them, and to induce the Indians to trade with Canada, the traffic could not be avoided. There were two or three dissentient opinions.

M. de Laval, on the other hand, started for France, with the proofs he had collected, which he included in a counter-memorial. The matter was not referred to the decision of Colbert; but to the King's Confessor, the Jesuit Père LaChaise and the Archbishop of Paris. They came to the conclusion that strong liquors should not be taken into the forest and into the dwellings of the Indians. Colbert wrote to have this arrangement carried out, and that it had been accepted by the Bishop.

The compromise really left the main question unchanged. Trade in liquor was permitted in the houses of the French, and there was no geographical limit to the construction of such houses. There were commencements of settlement at Quinté and Cataraqui and round the Richelieu Forts. De La Salle was contemplating establishments at Niagara, and at Illinois. Moreover, it was possible to push forward in advance of the land occupied, and erect a domicile at any spot where trade could be carried on. One important point was, however, gained by M. de Laval, that liquor could not be taken into the woods openly, and if carried clandestinely only under the fear of future punishment. There were so many opposing interests and so much jealousy, it was almost a certainty that the ecclesiastics would learn if the law were broken. The main question, however, was untouched. Liquor remained a recognized means of currency in trade for furs. Indeed, any

other decision was scarcely possible. M. de Laval returned to Canada in 1680, to remain eight years longer in the active exercise of his episcopal duties.

This determination closed the agitation on the liquor traffic, although from time to time its consideration was renewed. It had lasted for twenty years, and during this whole period had disturbed the peace of the Colony. In 1661, M. de Laval had commenced his excommunications, which he had been compelled to withdraw.* The dispute had been continued with bitterness through every administration to cause unceasing discord. The question was never again discussed, to have a place in history. It furnishes one of the many instances of passion and sentiment being mistaken for, or at least urged as public policy ; it shows how impotent such a line of conduct is, even when enforced by position and mental power, to resist the logic of facts, and the pressure of circumstances. Nearly every question in life has more sides than one, and in the end it depends on moral gravity, and the greatest weight of good or evil where the resting place is found.

* Jesuits' Journal, St. Mathew's day, 1661.

CHAPTER IX.

M. de La Salle, on receiving the grant of Fort Cataraqui, began to establish his property on a firm basis. He partially completed the building of stone. It was, however, but the first step to his future operations. As with men of his character, his views widened as his experience increased. His previous years of wandering life with the Indians had made him acquainted with their habits, and he had learned the best mode of carrying on intercourse with them. He had become well acquainted with the geography of the south shore of Lake Ontario, extending south-westerly to the shore of Lake Erie. The discovery by Jolliet of the Mississippi must have suggested to his mind that he had been wandering among the eastern tributaries of the great river. The north of Lake Ontario he knew equally well, as his presence on the Ottawa establishes. He had, in 1674, proceeded to France to obtain money, and to push his fortunes. The countenance given him by de Frontenac, as it enabled him to obtain his patent of nobility, so it had created that sympathy with his schemes which leads to the investment of capital to advance them. Moreover, his own connections at Rouen were people of means and credit. He had returned to Canada, having compassed what he went to France to obtain, and among the results, not the least was the support of powerful and wealthy friends whom he had impressed to the extent of aiding him in carrying out his policy.

He had not remained an idle or indifferent spectator of events. The part he played in the difficulty with the Abbé de Fénelon has been related. He had been one of the twenty Commissioners to report on the expediency of admitting "*eau de vie*" in traffic with the Indians. During this period he was constantly engaged in the fur trade. At Cataraqui he built

four small decked vessels for his operations on Lake Ontario, but when he had to ascend the rivers he had to follow the Indian practice of using the canoe. Duchesneau reported that de Frontenac participated in his profits, and that the Governor also was interested with Du Luth, then engaged on Lake Superior.

In 1677, de La Salle went again to Paris, and obtained large sums of money; a proof that his correspondents in France were not dissatisfied with him. He also obtained recognition from Colbert. He received official permission to discover the western portion of New France. The effort was to be made at his own cost and expense. But the privilege was by no means merely nominal. No assistance of any kind was promised him; but he obtained the monopoly in the trade of buffalo skins, then but little known, and considered attainable in large quantities in the valley of the Mississippi. Colbert no doubt believed that in granting this exclusive privilege he was giving the means of fully reimbursing the cost of the expedition, and of obtaining profit. Protection was the basis of Colbert's political faith, and in the monopoly, it was felt that there was sufficient reward. De La Salle was forbidden to trade with the Ottawas and Indians, who were in the habit of coming to Montreal. In July, 1678, de La Salle left France; he brought with him about thirty artizans and labourers, with much of the gearing and equipment necessary for rigging a vessel, including anchors, with the usual assortment of the articles required for his intercourse with the Indians.

De La Salle was accompanied by Henri de Tonty, an Italian officer, recommended by the Prince de Conti, a patron of de La Salle, who took great interest in his proceedings. De Tonty had lost a hand at the siege of Gaeta, where it had been blown off. He used a metal substitute for this hand, covered with a glove. On occasions of difficulty with the Indians he had struck the offenders with this iron hand. We are not surprised to read that the force of the blow to those who suffered from it, not in the secret, was a marvel. He

was also accompanied by the Sieur de La Motte. In all the annals of adventure there is no fairer record of loyal and devoted service than that rendered in most trying circumstances by de Tonty to de La Salle.

At Quebec de La Salle obtained the offer of the services of the Recollet Father Hennepin. The name of Hennepin has a place in Canadian history, with the unenviable distinction of it being never possible to know the extent he should be believed. To the modern inquirer, his falsehood is so apparent, that it is hard to understand how a sane man could have had the hardihood to make assertions so easily disproved. Hennepin himself tells us, that he was born in Flanders, in 1640, and at one period of his life was at Calais, and from the narratives of travel he heard there, he felt a strong desire to proceed to Canada. In the account of his life he describes himself as having been at the Battle of Seneff, on the 1st of August, 1674, and having gone through the campaign of battles and sieges. He then appears at La Rochelle, where he performed parochial duty, and, finally, arrived in Canada with M. de Laval in 1675. He describes his life at Quebec, to convey the belief that he must at least have passed two years there, stating that he was compelled to travel in a canoe to his mission. In 1678, he was at Cataraqui where, he tells us, in November that he had been for two years and a half, so he must have arrived at Cataraqui in June, 1676, nine months after his arrival. There is no record of Hennepin at that date, beyond that given by himself, and the discrepancies of these statements are such that the untruth of them is manifest. He was, however, at Quebec when de La Salle arrived, and hearing that without delay he had determined to proceed to the Mississippi, Hennepin obtained leave from his Superior to accompany him, and being accepted by de La Salle, he at once proceeded to Cataraqui to prepare for the expedition.

De La Salle followed in a few days. It was now the month of November, when the navigation has but a short period of duration. No one knew the incidents of travel

better than de La Salle, but they appear in no way to have affected him.

Throughout the career of de La Salle it is not possible to reject the impression that he was continually guilty of the serious fault of attempting too much, and of disregarding the influences of time, of circumstance and of season. His combinations were often unwise. Many of his reverses and disappointments arose from his want of forethought, from a disregard of the character of the effort to be made, and his neglect of the precautions which prudence should have dictated. He appears to have been incapable of delaying the execution of a project he had once formed. Hence the reckless character of many of his plans, and the failure of his schemes may in no slight degree be attributed to this want of judgment. He was never sparing of himself. He shrank neither from toil nor danger. Applying his own standard to others, he overrated their strength and capabilities; and if necessary, hardly and sternly ignored their feelings. The rebound came back upon him in grief, and in misfortune, until, finally he was swept away by it, owing to this defect in his character; and it is to this cause that in the end his destruction can be traced.

No modern expedition would leave Kingston the second week of November to proceed in a canoe to the Straits of Mackinaw. Without regard to the lateness of the season, de La Salle despatched a party of fifteen men to trade with the Illinois. De la Motte, accompanied by Hennepin, started in one of the small decked vessels for Niagara. The crew consisted of sixteen men. It was on the 18th of November. At this season, Lake Ontario is often rough, and the small craft coasted along the shore to avoid the north winds prevalent at this season. It took them eight days to reach the vicinity of Teiaigon, one of the many names by which Toronto was known at that early date. They took shelter from the squall in a river, which must have been the Humber. The vessel was frozen in; but at that season the ice is easily broken. On the 5th of December they cut their way

out, and started for Niagara. It is well known that the rough condition of the water at this locality in certain directions of the wind is such that even old sea captains have suffered from it. The early darkness of this month prevented them reaching their destination, and during the night they were tossed upon the Lake, about twelve miles from the shore. They landed at the spot where Fort Niagara stands, and sang a *Te Deum* in thankfulness for their escape from shipwreck.

There was a small band of Senecas, who had their wigwams on the opposite shore, engaged in taking white fish. The newcomers were received with friendliness and obtained some white fish. A party, consisting of Hennepin and five others, went up the river^{*} to Queenston, at the foot of the rapids, where the land commences to rise to the elevation of the banks of Lake Erie, and from the summit of which the monument of Brock now proudly stands. Ascending to the higher level they reached the celebrated Falls, and Hennepin was the first European to describe them with minuteness from personal observation. De La Salle must equally have known them. The exploration was made to determine the ground where a vessel could be constructed to navigate Lake Erie, one condition being that it should be in a spot whence Lake Erie could be reached; a circumstance which presupposes a knowledge of all impediments to navigation to be avoided, among them, the renowned Falls.*

They proceeded about a league south of the Falls to a stream emptying into the Grand River. It has been identi-

* These falls were spoken of to Cartier. They are shewn on the map of Champlain of 1612, and in 1648 are named by Ragueneau. "De la mesme Nation Neutre tirant presque au Midy on trouue vn grand Lac, quasi de deux cens lieues de tour, nomme Erié, qui se forme de la décharge de la Mer douce, et qui va se precipiter par vne cheute d'eaux d'une effroyable hauteur, dans vn troisième Lac nommé Ontario." Rel. 1648, p. 46.

De Galinée in his voyage of 1669 describes them: "une des plus belles cataractes ou chute d'eau qui soient au monde, car tous les Sauvages, a qui j'en ai parlé m'ont dit que le fleuve tombit en cet endroit d'un rocher plus haut que ne le sont les plus hauts pins, c-à-d d'environ 200 pieds." p. 26.

The mean height of the Falls proper is stated at 163 feet on the United States side, 154 feet on the Canada side. The River Niagara runs from South to North.

fied as Chippewa Creek. Here they lit a fire and encamped, and returned in the morning. One portion of their duty was the construction of a fort at the point where the Niagara River discharges into Lake Ontario. The project had been submitted by de Courcelles in 1670, and had received the support of Colbert. Some days were passed there. On the 11th, mass was said for the first time at this place. The wind was unfavourable for the ascent of the river by the small vessel. On the 15th, the attempt was made, when the vessel was hauled up along the shore. They thus reached Lewiston on the United States side, at the foot of the rapids. A log house was built there, and protected by a palisade enclosure. There was snow, and the ground was frozen, so difficulty was experienced in securing the palisades in position. Some apprehensions were felt for the safety of the small brigantine ; after some effort they managed to haul her up a ravine and so to place her in safety.

We are not told what gave rise to the feeling, but enough happened to shew that there was some unfriendliness on the part of the Senecas against any permanent establishment being formed at the spot chosen by the French. No means were neglected to conciliate the Indians at the entrance to Lake Ontario. De La Motte, however, determined to proceed to the headquarters of the Senecas ; the same spot visited by de Galinée and de La Salle nine years earlier, 1669. De La Motte was accompanied by Hennepin and four men. Hennepin pretended to some knowledge of Iroquois, and, from his self-reliance, courage and love of adventure, willingly went with the expedition. They left on Christmas day to proceed to the great village of the Senecas, Tagarondies. The distance was seventy-six miles. They started on snow-shoes and arrived on the last day of the year.

An expedition of this character in ordinary circumstances is marked by no formidable hardship, and is held of slight account in the halcyon days of youth and strength. There may be difficulty in crossing a half-frozen stream ; but when the width is slight, it is overcome by felling a tree and

extemporizing a bridge. No one on snow-shoes feels the cold except in the open when there is severe stormy weather and very low temperature. In the woods there is protection against the wind. In this case the "tramp" was about twelve miles a day, following a trail. Snow-shoeing remains a Canadian pastime to this day in our pleasant winters. The provisions and *impedimenta* are drawn on the long narrow sleigh known as the toboggan, and no great practice is required to make a good snow-shoer in either sex, when the necessary *physique* is possessed.

The Senecas received the French kindly. Hennepin tells us that he preached there; it must have been in Iroquois to have had any effect, and it is an indirect way of telling us of his knowledge of that language. There were two Jesuits in the mission. Julien Garnier, if not born, had been ordained in Canada. He had now been engaged ten years on labours which he was to continue to 1730. Raffeix had accompanied de Courcelles in his expedition of January, 1666. A Council was held. Garnier was present. De la Motte distrusted him and objected to his presence and to his taking part in the Council. The Senecas asked Garnier to retire. Hennepin relates that he felt embarrassed by the proceeding and himself withdrew with his brother ecclesiastic. The interpreter explained that de La Salle was desirous of building a ship in order to navigate the Lake above the Falls, which would bring merchandise to them cheaper than it could be brought from New York. Presents were given. De la Motte promised to keep a blacksmith at the mouth of the Niagara to mend their guns. It was an arrangement greatly desired, and the proposition was received with approval; possibly at the same time distrusted. Belts of wampum were accepted in return for the presents given. Before the French left, two prisoners were brought in. One was tortured and burnt. The French refused to be present and left the village. They reached Lewiston on the 14th of January, 1679.

De la Salle, with de Tonty, sailed from Cataraqui towards the end of December, in one of the small vessels of about twenty

tons. He landed at the familiar spot, which he had visited with Dollier and de Galinée, and he went to the village of Tagarondies ; it must have been about the 6th or 7th of January, for de La Motte had left to return to Niagara. De la Salle's charm of manner and plausibility have been placed on record. Like many silent and reserved men, when he spoke, he expressed himself with elegance and force, and he seldom failed to impress those whom he addressed. He succeeded in removing the objections entertained by the Senecas ; this point gained, he re-embarked for the Niagara River. When about twenty-five miles from the spot, the wind was contrary, or there was a calm, and the impatience of De la Salle would not permit him to remain with the crew ; and with de Tonty on snow-shoes, he proceeded by land to their destination at Niagara. His absence was the cause of serious disaster.

On the eighth of January the pilot and crew left the small vessel safely moored, as they believed, and went on shore to sleep, no doubt suffering from cold in the vessel. While on shore, they could light a fire. The calm was a deceitful one, for the wind rose so suddenly, and with such force, that they were unable to return on board with their canoe. The vessel dragged its anchor and by the force of the wind, was drifted some miles to the east, to a spot identified as Thirty-nine Mile Point. It became a wreck and nearly everthing was lost, including some bark canoes, but the anchors and cables.

De la Salle and de Tonty reached the east side of the Niagara. The Indians answered to their call and came across and paddled them to the opposite shore. After partaking of the cheer which the wigwam could give, to de Tonty an unsavory feast, they paddled up the seven miles to Lewiston. De La Motte and Hennepin had not returned. De La Salle, the following day, ascended to the higher level and proceeded up the river and selected the mouth of Cayuga Creek* as the spot for the work of building the vessel, and he laid down the detail of

* The researches of the late Mr. Erasmus H. Marshall, of Buffalo, have satisfactorily established the locality. It is due to his memory to record the obligation which we all owe to his many useful and careful investigations.

the operations to be followed. Cayuga Creek is five miles above the Falls and ten miles distant from Buffalo. A small island of a mile in length lies parallel to the shore with a narrow flow of water between it and the mainland, deep enough for the vessel to be launched. Moreover, the channel between the main shore and Grand Island is comparatively narrow and marked by more quiet water than that which passes by the main stream.

While waiting for de La Motte and Hennepin de La Salle heard of the loss of his vessel, and he at once proceeded to the spot to see what could be saved from the wreck. He returned immediately to Lewiston. On the 22nd he was at Cayuga Creek. De La Salle is spoken of by Hennepin as turning aside to look upon the Falls, as if they were new to him. He did no more than a modern traveller would do to-day. De La Salle was acquainted with the whole geography of the district. The rapidity with which the site was selected for the work to be commenced shews that he had laid down his plans ; and this course could only have been taken after acquaintance with every condition of the problem to be solved.

On the 26th of January the keel was laid. The loss of his stores on the wrecked vessel now commenced to be felt, and de La Salle determined to proceed to Cataraqui to replace them. It was the first of February, the coldest period of the year. The only means of travel was on snow-shoes, and it was a long and dreary journey. He started with two men, and a dog to draw the toboggan. The distance from Niagara to Toronto is 80 miles, to Cataraqui 160 miles, 240 miles equal to 100 leagues.* The distance suggests the great qualities which de La Salle possessed: his unconquerable spirit, his strength, his endurance, his readiness of resource. The way was undoubtedly known to him, and as the rivers were frozen, except the roughness of the way, there was no serious impediment to his progress. It was, moreover, owing to the climatal conditions of Ontario, a journey less trying than the descent of the

* The French league is equal to 2.42 English miles.

Saint Lawrence by de Fénelon and Perrot ; with this exception, that in the latter case there was little risk of wanting food, which was not a certainty in de La Salle's twelve days' effort.

De Tonty and Hennepin accompanied him to the entrance of the River into Lake Ontario. He there traced out the lines of the fort on the ground where the present fort stands. He explained to the Senecas that he was laying out the dwelling and forge of the blacksmith, who was to repair their arms. No time was lost in protecting the place with palisades.

As the Senecas appeared uncertain in their conduct, de La Motte went on a second mission to their village to keep them on friendly terms, while de Tonty again launched the brigantine and proceeded to the wreck, to save what it was possible to bring away. The weather was such that the attempt failed, and he had himself difficulty in regaining the Niagara River. He therefore organized an expedition in canoes ; while proceeding thither meeting de La Motte on his return, de Tonty directed him to undertake the duty.

The winter was passed in the construction of the vessel, marked by dread of an attack of the Senecas. They refused to give supplies, and there were reports of threats on their part to burn the vessel on the stocks. The carpenters became demoralized. It is a curious feature in de La Salle's career, that he failed to retain his hold on the confidence and affections of his men. They were constantly dissatisfied, frequently deserted, and on one occasion broke into open mutiny. His presence, however, invariably controlled any such feeling. In his absence, the dissatisfaction was constantly coming to the surface shewing the little personal devotion and affection he could command, whatever power of repression his higher qualities may have exercised.

Hennepin's narrative tells us that he himself was the good genius on the occasion. That it was his exhortations which prevented the ill effects from these contrarieties, and which preserved peace and order. By the month of May the vessel was completed and launched. The name given to it was

"le Griffon;" a compliment to de Frontenac, whose supporters were armed Griffins. If the Senecas looked suspiciously on the vessel, they willingly attended the launch, for there was a plentiful supply of "*eau de vie*" on the *gau deamus* of the event. The next effort was to place the vessel near the waters of Lake Erie. Again, we have Hennepin describing himself as ascending the river, obtaining the depths in its rapid current. They reached Squaw Island, over which the International Bridge is now constructed two and a half miles from the Lake. They there found quiet water below the island where "le Griffon" could be moored in ten feet of water. The effort was delayed until a north-east wind was obtained, and "le Griffon" then reached her destination.

Hennepin returned to Fort Frontenac to obtain some additional Recollets to proceed on the western voyage. It was a marked feature of de La Salle's policy that he held the presence of ecclesiastics indispensable to his projects. Hennepin had again recourse to the small vessel in which he had come from Cataraqui. The party started for Fort Frontenac, trading as they went. They took some Indians on board, to land them at one of their villages. The squaws were all sea-sick, to the disgust of Hennepin. They touched at the mouth of the Oswego, and finally reached Cataraqui.

De La Salle was at this time pressed by his creditors. It has been stated by modern writers that his property was seized on account of his debts. There is no record of the fact in the minutes of the Conseil Souverain. There is an entry of legal proceedings indicating difficulty and embarrassment, but nothing to shew that this extreme course was taken. There was opposition to de La Salle from those not connected with him and the set with whom he worked, and there was jealousy of the favour which he possessed. On the other hand, he had powerful support, and his expeditions shew that he was never at any time in want of money.

Now that "le Griffon" was available de La Salle determined to execute the purpose he had contemplated; to navigate the Upper Lakes and to carry on trade as he had done with his

small craft on Lake Ontario. Two Recollets were appointed to accompany him; Gabriel de la Ribourde and Zenobie Membré. The party left for Niagara, stopping, as they ascended, to trade with the Senecas. De La Salle joined the party eight days after, and he resolved again to visit the Senecas in order to retain them in his interest. Hennepin and Sergeant La Fleur started on foot for the spot where "le Griffon" had been built. On reaching Niagara they found an old canoe in which they paddled up to Lewiston. De La Salle shortly afterwards reached Niagara and the brigantine was taken up the river. According to Hennepin, it was he who piloted her up, he having returned presumably to do so. The vessel was unloaded and now came the labour of carrying up the stores and merchandise to the higher level over a distance of two leagues. It was a tedious and severe labour, but it was accomplished, and the material placed in "le Griffon," so that she was ready for sailing: no one working harder or more cheerfully than the Recollet Fathers, and de la Ribourde was then sixty-four. Hennepin, with de La Salle and Father Gabriel, visited the Falls, and Hennepin stands forth as the leading person in proposing to make a settlement there, by which trade would be encouraged and religion advanced.

The wind not proving favourable for the ascent, de La Salle employed his men to clear some extent of ground and as an experiment to sow some seed. At length the wind from the north-east came and "le Griffon" reached Lake Erie. The crew consisted of thirty-four souls. De Tonty, with five men, had anticipated the departure of the vessel. He had been despatched to await her arrival at the junction of the River Detroit with Lake Erie.

This, the first vessel to navigate Lake Erie, proceeded on her voyage. De La Salle had heard that the Lake was full of shoals and that the navigation was dangerous. There was no moon; a fog settled on the water. They advanced cautiously, sounding as they went. They were proceeding with this care when the ominous noise of the roll of breakers struck their ears. De La Salle had not roamed over these waters for

years without knowing what incidents were to be looked for. Moreover, he had the knowledge of Lake Erie which de Galinée's map had given him. It is not unlikely that for that reason he clung to the north shore. The soundings shewed them to be in three fathoms of water ; the course was changed. They proceeded with greater caution, and when the fog lifted, they were at Long Point. Hennepin tells us they called it Point Saint Francis, but the name has long passed away.

They approached the mouth of the Detroit River. De Tonty with his party were here encamped on the low ground. They had narrowly escaped some disaster owing to the rise of the level of the lake from the effect of a north-east wind. They saw "le Griffon" and made the signal prescribed, three columns of smoke from three fires. It was seen and answered.

Hennepin records his impressions of the country ; prairie interspersed with vines, clumps of trees, forests almost presenting the look of a park. Game abounded. There was fruit ; the walnut, chestnut, plum and apple, and from the grapes of the wild vine they endeavoured to make wine. On the 10th of August, the feast of St. Claire,* they reached the lake now bearing that name. It was with difficulty that they found their way through the tortuous channel of what is known as St. Clair flats, through which a canal has only been constructed by the United States Government within the last quarter of a century. The wind was unfavourable. At length they reached the rapid current which runs past the town of Sarnia, at the discharge of Lake Huron into the Saint Clair River. Hennepin describes it in his day as strong as the current of Niagara. It is by no means so in modern times. Although given to exaggeration, and constantly writing for effect, Hennepin could observe correctly. It is not unlikely that at this date the current has not the same force for some physical cause which we cannot explain. It was on that occasion only surmounted by men on shore towing the vessel up.

* The true spelling is "Claire," the French of the English "Clara," but the word is now written "Clair."

They were now in Lake Huron ; they crossed the Lake to Saginaw Bay on the Michigan coast and reached the Thunder Islands, among which they were becalmed. They continued northward, avoiding Presqu'ile Cape. A storm arose and forced them to beat out to windward, so that they could obtain sea-room. It increased to a gale : so much so, that Hennepin would have us think that de La Salle gave up all for lost, and, at the request of the Recollets, made a vow that if God permitted him safely to reach the shore, he would construct a chapel to Saint Anthony of Padua.

After lasting twenty-four hours, the gale moderated. They reached the Straits of Mackinaw. Rounding Point St. Ignace, they came to the Mission established by Père Marquette. Some few Frenchmen were established there with the Ottawa and Huron Indians. It was the spot whence Marquette and Jolliet had started on their descent of the Mississippi and where Marquette's bones had been placed by the Indians who had gathered them in West Michigan.

The arrival of "le Griffon" was an event which the men even of those days, and of that place, could understand. The vessel was greeted from the shore by the guns of those who were there, while from the deck of the vessel the traditional salute was fired. On shore, mass was said, when M. de La Salle attended, dressed with unusual care. All the canoes of the neighbouring tribes crowded round the vessel in bewildered astonishment and admiration.

It has been said that early in November de La Salle had sent a party of fifteen men in canoes to trade with the Illinois Indians. Several of these men had deserted. Four of them were at Michillimackinac. De La Salle arrested them, and, hearing that two more were at the Sault St. Mary, on the 29th of August he despatched de Tonty, with a party of six, to make them prisoners. De La Salle himself did not wait for de Tonty's return, but, with "le Griffon," proceeded up Lake Michigan. He reached La Grande Baie, the name of which has dwindled down to Green Bay. Here, at one of the islands, he found the members of his party who had remained in his

interest. They had been dealing with the Potowatamies and had collected twelve thousand pounds of skins. While at this place another storm arose which lasted for four days. But "le Griffon" was secure in the harbour to the south of the Island.

The furs were loaded on the vessel to be taken to Fort Frontenac, there to be applied by de La Salle's agent to the payment of money owing by him. He himself adhered to his purpose to proceed to the head of the Lake, and, ascending the river, which there discharges, follow the portage to one of the branches of the River Illinois, and make preparations for the descent of the Mississippi. He now felt the inconvenience of the loss of his canoes, which had been on the vessel wrecked on Lake Ontario. He could not obtain canoes sufficient to carry the whole of the merchandise brought on "le Griffon" for trade. He could only procure four canoes, and their space was so limited that a great amount of his property had to be left on the brigantine. The supercargo was instructed to land it and store it at Michillimackinac, while "le Griffon," with her cargo of furs, should proceed to the south end of Lake Erie, to the head of the Falls; whence the furs, being carried over the portage, would be transferred to the schooner on Lake Ontario and taken to Cataraqui.

On the 18th of September, "le Griffon" left the mouth of Green Bay. The furs she contained were of considerable value. The whole, cargo, furs, merchandise, and the vessel, were valued at ten thousand livres. She was placed under the command of Luc, the pilot, and, in addition, carried a supercargo and five sailors. The gun she fired on leaving was the last thing recorded of her. She never reached Michillimackinac. A storm arose the second day after she sailed, which lasted five days. She is reported to have been seen at the northern end of the Lake and to have taken refuge among some islands. Here, it has been stated, that some Potowatamies advised the master to wait patiently for the storm to pass over. He did not do so; his instructions were to make the voyage to Niagara, and to return, and the season was late. Whatever

the cause, the voyage was continued. "Le Griffon" was last seen half a league from the shore labouring in the storm. It is supposed she foundered, and none were left to tell the tale. There is the tradition that some relics were found, recognized as having belonged to the ship, and that her fate has thus been established.

De La Salle left Green Bay with the four canoes, the day after "le Griffon" left. His party consisted of the three Recollets and fourteen men. The same storm in which "le Griffon" perished, threatened them with destruction. He was enabled, however, to reach a small bay, where he was compelled to remain five days. It was impossible for him not to feel the greatest apprehension for the vessel, seeing the extent which he had himself suffered by the tempest. He could only have anticipated the most unfortunate results : but his nature was bold and hopeful. His energy was in no way relaxed, nor was his resolution lessened. He had been taught in the sternest of schools to battle with misfortune. He had learned with patience and determination to oppose the obstacles to be overcome. He drew his courage from his own stout heart, and with this bent of mind he proceeded onward to the labours which have made his name immortal.

The journey was continued, but not without interruption. They had again to seek the shelter of a rocky island and to make a fire of driftwood, with no protection from the rain and hail. They again landed not far from a village of the Pottawatamies. Hennepin relates another feat which he performed, that in the difficulty of landing, he carried Father Gabriel on his shoulders. They wanted food and obtained some corn at an Indian village, from which the inhabitants had fled, de La Salle leaving behind goods to the value of that which they had carried away. At length they met Indians who furnished them with supplies. They coasted along the western shore of the Lake, drawing up their canoes at night, and partially unloading them ; a work of labour. Their only food was Indian corn, with some wild berries. Seeing some eagles circling in the heavens, and a flock of turkey buzzards and

crows, they went ashore to find a deer, lately killed by wolves, half eaten. It was a grateful relief to their wants. The birds were driven away, and they had meat to eat. Moreover, as they gained the head of the Lake, game became plentiful.

At one of their encampments they noticed footprints in the neighbourhood. It shewed them that Indians were near, and, during the night, some of the tribe approached. In the presence of de La Salle, there was little chance of surprise. Nevertheless, with Indian dexterity, the Indians did manage to steal a coat and some tools. De La Salle effected the capture of one of the tribe and threatened reprisals. The theft was made good by beaver skins, and friendly relations were established. De La Salle's presence on the lake shore, however, was unwelcome, and they did not desire the continuance of his journey. They begged de La Salle not to proceed, and gave as a reason that the Illinois were angered against the French, for they considered it was they who had incited the Iroquois to attack them.

The journey was continued until the River Saint Joseph was reached ; this river has its mouth at the south-eastern corner of the Lake, and was named by de La Salle, the Miami. Here he determined to wait for de Tonty, who had been directed, with six men, to proceed to Lake Superior to arrest the two deserters. The party remaining with de La Salle became dissatisfied. They were desirous of reaching the villages of the Illinois before those Indians had left on their hunting expeditions. The loss of time was indeed a serious matter and the ill feeling called forth was dearly paid for by the arrest of two men. De La Salle ought to have kept his force together, and not have sent back his vessel to Niagara, until he had reached Saint Joseph and disembarked his stores, leaving the return voyage to the discretion of the pilot, whether it should be made the same season or the following year. The arbitrary, unconditional orders given by de La Salle for the return of the vessel must have influenced the pilot to continue his voyage, when he should have sought refuge from the storm, and hence caused its loss.

As he was situated, de La Salle felt bound to wait for de Tonty, who had been directed on his return to coast down the eastern shore of the lake. He accordingly employed his men in the construction of a fort at the mouth of the river, known as Fort Miami. After twenty days' interval, de Tonty appeared. Only half his men were with him. To avoid starvation, he had divided his party, and half of their number had been left seventy-five miles back to subsist by hunting, and to find their way southward. De Tonty was ordered to return to bring them up. Unfortunately, during his journey, as a canoe was being dragged ashore in rough weather, it was upset, and everything was lost, so de Tonty with his party had to make his way back to the fort. They were followed shortly after by the missing men, excepting the two deserters, who had again escaped. Situated as they were, they were marching unguarded to punishment, and such a consequence might have been looked for. Thus the whole of this delay and loss was unaccompanied by any result, except dissatisfaction and discontent. It is in such combinations that the defect of de La Salle's want of early training and true power of discipline appears.

It was the month of December; seventy-three days had elapsed since "le Griffon" had left Green Bay. In her ascent from Niagara to Saint Ignace, the distance had been made in about thirty-four days. At that date all was new and untried. The descending current would have hastened her homeward voyage, and time sufficient had elapsed for her to have returned to Saint Ignace. Still strong in hope, de La Salle despatched two men to the Straits to wait her arrival and to pilot her to Fort Miami, where she was to remain to receive the cargo which de La Salle promised himself he would gather from the Illinois.

CHAPTER X.

The course to be followed by de La Salle lay up the Saint Joseph River, for by such name the river is known, to what is now the village of the South Bend, some little distance to the south of the boundary line between Michigan and Indiana. Difficulty was experienced in finding the portage. De La Salle started to discover it and lost himself for a night and the best part of a day. There were eight canoes, with thirty-three persons in the expedition. The number which sailed in "le Griffon" was thirty-four; five had accompanied de Tonty, fifteen had been sent from Cataraqui, making a total of fifty-five. Of this number, two had deserted, six had sailed in "le Griffon," two were sent to St. Ignace, leaving thirteen unaccounted for, probably left at Green Bay and St. Ignace.

The portage to the Kankakee, the southern tributary of the Illinois, was five miles in length, through a marshy plain. The Illinois was reached; the canoes launched, and the descent commenced. At first they were not fortunate in taking game. Subsequently, they found a buffalo, sunk into a deep, marshy spot, and unable to extricate himself. They killed him, and the fact is gratefully recorded. They reached an Indian town, but the lodges were empty. They found the *cache* and took some twenty minots of Indian corn, trusting to the future to explain and make good the proceeding. They again embarked and continued down the main stream. On New Year's day, 1680, they landed and mass was said. They still descended the river, until they reached the neighbourhood of the present City of Peoria, when they noticed the smoke of camp fires. As they approached they could observe the Indians as if waiting their arrival. In a brief period the French had landed, and drew themselves up to await events. Their attitude was one of defence. Was it

to be peace or war? De La Salle had heard that the Illinois were inimical to him. He knew the Indian character. Experience had taught him that any exhibition of fear was unwise, and he assumed the position of being able to resist any attack if necessary. Two of the Chiefs came forward. There was peace. Food was offered. Tobacco was given by de La Salle. The Indian courtesy was observed of placing the first three mouthfuls of food in the mouths of the new comers with the fingers, not a proceeding which one possessing a knowledge of Indian habits can admire, and by blowing on the hot meat to cool it when necessary. Others anointed the feet of the new comers with bear's grease. De La Salle explained that it was his intention to construct a large canoe to reach the sea and to return to them with goods, and added that if they would not consent to furnish him with provisions he would proceed to the Osages and ask their aid. It was a safe argument to appeal to Indian jealousy. The Illinois promised their friendship and relations were established on a satisfactory basis.

On the following day there was a change in their manner, which had become reserved and distrustful. A chief named Monso, with some Miamis, had visited the village during the night, leaving at daybreak. Whatever his motives and by whom prompted, he warned the Illinois that de La Salle was in league with the Iroquois, and that he was on his way to the Mississippi to urge the Indians on the opposite bank to join in attack against them. A friendly chief, whom de La Salle had gained by some special present, gave information of the fact. There was a feast held on this day, when some of the Illinois chiefs spoke against the journey. They dwelt upon its dangers in every form, the wild animals, the wilder tribes. Two of de La Salle's men, old *coureurs de bois*, understood enough of the harangue to explain it to their comrades, and thus the latter became perfectly unsettled. De La Salle on his side addressed the Indians, and spoke of the visitor of the preceding night. He gave every assurance of his own loyalty, and shewed the absurdity of such an accusation made

by a stranger, who did not stay to substantiate it. The ill-humour of the Illinois was not removed. There was evidently doubt and distrust. Fearing that some attack might be made during the night, de La Salle posted sentries ; and on making his visit to note if the necessary precautions were being taken, he found the sentry absent, and that six of his men had deserted, among them two carpenters. They preferred to trust to all the risks of the wilderness, rather than face the threatened dangers in their path.

The policy of de La Salle was to construct a vessel, and to descend the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and on gaining the ocean to sail to the West India Islands, and from thence return to Quebec. The place at which he had arrived seemed to him adapted to admit of the project being carried out. Moreover, he deemed it inadvisable to test the constancy of his men by a further advance down the Illinois. He selected a spot between two ravines, and by digging a trench to connect them isolated the location he made. Here he built a fort. It has been said that in the bitterness of his heart he called it Crèveœur* to denote his deep disappointment. Hennepin says that it was so named owing to the pain caused by the six desertions. De Tonty merely records the fact. Such demonstrative grief was in no way a part of the character of de La Salle. It was but poor policy to tell those connected with him, already demoralized, that he felt prostrate with sorrow. It was to announce that he held his position to be desperate. The name is well known in France, and it is more likely that the fort was called after some liberal contributor to the expedition.

The vessel was commenced, and, in spite of the desertions, was pushed on vigorously. The hull was completed, and as the want of the stores which had been placed on "le Griffon" began to be experienced, de La Salle determined to make his way eastward to learn the fate of the vessel, and, if necessary,

* Mr. Shea suggests that as Louis XIV. had recently destroyed Fort Crèveœur, near Bois le Duc, in the Netherlands, captured in 1672, the name may have been chosen out of compliment to that monarch.

obtain additional supplies. He also resolved to send a party to explore the Upper Mississippi, to trade with the Indians, and to obtain information upon which he could act on his return. The two men he detailed for this duty were Michael Accault, who may be named as the chief person, and Anthony Auguelle. The latter was a native of Amiens, a man of good family, known as Picard le Gai. Accault is described as knowing three Indian languages. They had with them a thousand livres' worth of goods. In accordance with the principle followed by de La Salle, they were accompanied by a Recollet. This Recollet was Hennepin, and from him we have the account of the expedition. He represents himself as the leading personage and appropriates all merit of the discoveries which were made.

De La Salle made preparations for his journey. It was on the 2nd of March, still winter in its drear, severe aspect ; and de La Salle was to carry out his undertaking even to command the respect of those who were not among his friends. On this occasion he shewed fortitude and endurance rarely surpassed. He was now thirty-seven years of age. Eleven years had passed since he had ascended the Saint Lawrence with Dollier and de Galinée, and he had passed several years of this time amid Indian life, to be inured to its intricacies, its wants, its requirements, its risks, and the resources it exacted. He had never hesitated to face long journeys, without thought of the privation they entailed. The preceding year he had gone on snow-shoes from Niagara to Kingston, but the route was over familiar ground. Now his path lay across a country which he only knew, as he had passed through it in a canoe, or deduced its character from his general geographical knowledge and his experience in the woods.

De La Salle's character appears in its best light in a crisis of this nature. He was leaving behind him men he knew to be discontented and dissatisfied, and who he felt were parting with the faith in him, so essential to every leader in great enterprises. The desertion of some of his best men had told him how little he could rely on those who remained behind ;

nevertheless he felt that it was necessary immediately to supply the deficiencies from which those who remained constant to him were suffering, and to remove the difficulties which they regarded as unconquerable.

In this picture, the simple, devoted character of his Lieutenant de Tonty, likewise appears. He was to remain behind, patiently to await de La Salle's return, to set out of view all the contingencies which might prevent it, to urge on the construction of the vessel, to obtain provisions for the men, and to await with calm determination results, which were entirely independent of action on his part ; a situation to exact great qualities and unfailing fortitude.

De La Salle started with four Frenchmen and the Mohegan Indian who generally attended him. One of them was the son of Bourdon, the Attorney-General of de Mésy, known by the name of d'Autray. With their canoes they ascended the stream. The river was only partially open; in many spots where it was frozen the ice would not bear. The hardship must have been severe. Occasionally on land, sometimes on the water, poling away the floating ice to prevent the canoe being shattered, in frequent rain, often having to cut the ice with their tomahawks. They followed the route by which they had come, made the portage, and descended the stream to reach the fort at the Saint Joseph on the 24th of March. They had been twenty-two days engaged in this exacting and trying labour.

At the fort he met the two men whom he had sent to Michilimackinac. He was now made to feel that the loss of "le Griffon" was only too true. The two men he ordered to proceed down the Illinois to join de Tonty. He himself struck across Southern Michigan. The country was entirely unknown to him, but he had his compass, and he trusted to his knowledge of the geography of the lakes, and his skill in finding his way in the woods. The party reached the River Detroit, the distance through this unknown wilderness being about two hundred and seventy miles. At the River Detroit two of the men made a canoe, and having landed the party

on the opposite shore, the two men ascended the river, and, coasting Lake Huron, proceeded to Michillimackinac. De La Salle, with the remainder, leaving the River Detroit, pushed across the peninsula to reach Lake Erie. Here they made another canoe, and, coasting Lake Erie they came to Niagara. It was Easter Monday, 1680. There were men stationed in this place. They had been engaged in the labours of the preceding year, and had not been included in the expedition; and de La Salle learnt from them the undoubted fact that "le Griffon" had never been seen.

Those who had accompanied de La Salle being broken with fatigue and illness, he took three fresh men and continued his journey to Cataraqui. The French, in the seventeenth and following centuries, performed many feats of strength and endurance. There is nothing in their annals more remarkable than this expedition of de La Salle, made in the months of March and April, for it was on the sixty-fifth day that he arrived at Cataraqui.

There was something in de La Salle always to command respect and attention. At Montreal, to which place he at once went, he was met by his friends with the same attention as of old. He obtained the supplies and assistance which he required and returned to Fort Frontenac. Here he received news from de Tonty that, after his departure the men had mutinied, robbed the fort of what they required, destroying what they could not carry off, and had deserted in force. Two of the settlers around Fort Frontenac soon confirmed the news. They had been trading on the lakes, and had seen the deserters, who now had increased to twenty in number, having been joined by men at Michillimackinac and at Niagara. They had also taken possession of the furs and property at these places. They had then separated; eight of them having gone to Albany; twelve were making their way to Fort Frontenac, in order to kill de La Salle, as the safest course to assure their own safety.

De La Salle selecting men on whom he could rely, determined to arrest them. His party went at once to a spot which it

was usual to pass and placed themselves in concealment. The Illinois deserters came carelessly along. Their canoes were straggling one after the other looking for no attack. As the first canoe came up the two men in it were seized. The following canoe met the same fate. The third canoe, containing five men, attempted resistance. Two of the men were shot dead, the three were arrested, and the whole of those thus seized were lodged in the cells at Cataraqui ; there we lose sight of them.

It now became necessary to relieve de Tonty, in great straits on the Illinois. Again de La Salle embarked for Lake Michigan. His company consisted of twenty-five men, including a Surgeon. He did not pass by Niagara. Reaching Toronto he ascended the Humber, and made a portage to the waters of Lake Simcoe, then called Lake Toronto, descended Matchedash Bay, and passed by Northern Lake Huron, to Mackinaw. The Indians were unfriendly. He continued his route to the south of the Lake, and to the fort at the Saint Joseph. Here again he divided his force, and taking six Frenchmen and an Indian, he proceeded towards the Illinois, leaving the remainder at the fort, where they were to be joined by his lieutenant, La Forest. The object which he had in view was to rescue de Tonty from the dangers in which he might be placed, and the exigency of the crisis did not permit him to delay an unnecessary hour.

He descended the Kankakee. No trace of the object of his search presented itself. As he reached the Prairie country, it was alive with buffalo. It was too good an opportunity to obtain food, to be neglected : so they landed. In three days they killed twelve buffalo, with some deer, geese and swans. They cut the meat into strips and dressed it in the smoke and sun to guard against future contingencies, and then pushed onward, descending the Illinois. They arrived at the spot where the Indian town had stood. It was a mass of charred half-burnt timber and cinders. At points, poles were erect with skulls and half-decayed flesh, bearing the mark of having furnished food to birds of prey. The burial ground had been

torn open, the dead rifled, and gross indignity committed to many of the remains. As they landed, the wolves, which were in flocks, left their food. The turkey buzzards and the crows, which were in numbers, startled by the arrival, rose and circled in the air. The *caches* had been broken open and what corn could not be taken was scattered and destroyed.

The Illinois town had been attacked by the Iroquois, and this spectacle was the consequence. Some writers have endeavoured to establish that the outrage was caused by English dictation and intrigue. It is hard to see how such a policy was beneficial to English interests. Their trade was carried on with the Iroquois, and the more plentifully they could be supplied by the western tribes, so the more plentiful and less dear the supply at Schenectady and Albany. The Iroquois, in this case, acted as they ever had done; from their theory of necessity, and from the one law they recognised, that of self-preservation. Their own hunting grounds were becoming less productive. Hitherto they had been the means of communication between the western tribes and the French and English. But the latter were now pushing forward their scouts to obtain directly what the Ottawa and the Illinois could offer in trade. These tribes were thus rising into power and significance. It had ever been the policy of the Iroquois to extinguish whatever was held to be, or threatened to be in rivalry with themselves. On this principle they had waged a war of extermination against the Hurons, the Eries, the Southern Andastes. It was the same theory which had led to their aggression against the French to keep them confined to the east of Three Rivers. The preponderating power of the French made attack impossible in that direction. They were now looking to the West; advancing along the southern shore of Lake Erie. The Kankakee was then open to them to reach the Illinois and the Mississippi. The whole history of the Iroquois is one of war and attack on his weaker and less warlike neighbour.

Previous to the attack, the Iroquois had constructed a fort, and here were skulls also taken from the graves. De La

Salle undertook the painful duty of looking through these trophies of remorseless Indian triumph, to note if in the mutilated features he could see the face of a white man. Even if the countenance had been destroyed by the birds of prey, sufficient trace would have remained to shew the race : he was greatly re-assured by finding no such ghastly relics. In one of the corn fields there were six posts painted red. There was drawn on each the figure of a man with a bandage across his eyes. Could this mean that his men to this number were held prisoners by the Iroquois ?

De La Salle determined to descend the river to learn if possible the fate of de Tonty and his party. He was accompanied by four of the party, well armed, and he carried some goods for presents or for barter. The other two took post on an island, concealed their canoe and baggage, and kept themselves out of sight. As de La Salle descended he found continued traces of the Iroquois. Fort Crèvecœur had been destroyed. The vessel was still on the stocks, but many of the spikes and nails had been drawn. On one plank was written, "*Nous sommes tous sauvages.*" He followed the river, and passed a spot where bodies of the unhappy Illinois, half burned, remained standing, tied to stakes. He reached the Mississippi, and from a tree in a prominent position on the great river he scored off the bark, as we say in Canada "blazed" it. He hung a board on the tree, on which he drew himself and his four men in a canoe, with a pipe of peace, and he left likewise a letter addressed to de Tonty.

He returned up the river ; the December snow was beginning to fall, and the ice to form. Instead of taking the Kankakee, he followed the Des Plaines branch which leads to the portage to Chicago Creek. On the route he found a piece of wood cut with a saw. It was a hopeful presage that de Tonty had passed in that direction, and had escaped destruction. January had now come. De La Salle proceeded round the end of Lake Michigan to Fort Miami. He there found La Forrest with the rest of his men. They had utilized their time to repair the fort

and to take some steps towards the construction of another vessel.

During this time de Tonty was at Green Bay. It has been said that when de La Salle left, the men were dissatisfied. On reaching Fort Miami, de La Salle had sent the two men who had returned from Michillimackinac to join de Tonty. Their arrival destroyed what little feeling of respect was still entertained for de La Salle. They brought the news that "le Griffon" was lost, that Fort Frontenac was seized for debt, and that de La Salle was a ruined man. Months had passed since the party had received any pay. The men were now told that all was lost, and that they would get nothing for their past, nothing for future service. The new comers delivered a letter to de Tonty, in which de La Salle requested him to examine a rock noticed by him in his journey, and, if necessary, to fortify it. De Tonty proceeded to its examination. It was in his absence that the desertion, the destruction of the fort, and the theft of the property took place. On receiving the news he despatched two parties, each of two men, with the news to de La Salle. De Tonty was now with but three men, and the two Recollet Fathers Membré and de la Ribourde.

He established himself in the Indian village opposite to the mouth of the River Vermilion and did his best to disarm jealousy. The Indian population consisted of several hundreds. On the 10th of September, the news was brought that a large body of Iroquois was advancing to attack them. The Illinois crowded round de Tonty and de Boisrondet, one of the party, accusing them of being the cause of their ruin. The missionaries were away a league distant. The Illinois, in their excitement and anger, threw into the river the tools and property of de La Salle ; they then placed their women and children in canoes and descended the stream, leaving behind sixty warriors to defend the place.

De Tonty, threatened by a mass of savages whom he could not understand, and who did not understand him, agreed to accompany them to the fight. This promise quieted them.

Many of the Iroquois were armed with guns and they advanced against the Illinois, the latter irresolute, poorly armed, and shrinking from the contest. De Tonty saw that the only hope of avoiding an unfortunate result lay in the prevention of a struggle. He trusted that his influence as a Frenchman would prevent further hostile proceedings being taken. He advanced among the howling, screeching Iroquois. Whether or not they recognized him as an European, or believed him to be an Illinois, a young Iroquois stabbed him. The blow glanced off on his ribs. It caused him pain, and the loss of blood made him weak. In the tumult, he managed to say that the Illinois were under the protection of the King of France, and must be left at peace. But the confusion increased. De Tonty's hat was seized and held aloft on the end of a gun. The consequence was that the Illinois believing that de Tonty had been killed, such of them as had guns commenced firing.

Among the Onondaga Chiefs there was one who knew de La Salle, and he interested himself to protect de Tonty, so that he could obtain a hearing. De Tonty made the statement, hazardous if its falsehood were discovered, that there were twelve hundred Illinois in force with sixty Frenchmen. These numbers alarmed the Iroquois, and the proposition for peace was accepted. De Tonty was furnished with a belt betokening this condition, and, returning towards the Illinois, he was met by Fathers de la Ribourde and Membré. The Illinois who, on their part, remembered former wars, knew the little confidence which they could place in a promised peace. They considered that it covered some treason, and, taking to their canoes, descended the river, setting fire to their lodges as they left.

The Iroquois crossed over to the town to look for hidden provisions; and, as there were no living enemies to attack, they began to disinter the dead in the cemetery. De Tonty and his companions did not at first leave the hut they occupied, but they were requested by the Iroquois to do so, and accordingly they retired to the fort on the southern bank which the

Iroquois themselves on their arrival had constructed with trees in the Indian form. It still contained several of the tribe, and the French therefore remained under supervision. Some days were passed in inactivity, the Iroquois evidently irresolute what course to take, owing to the presence of the French. A treaty had been entered into with the Illinois; but in the interval the Iroquois began to make canoes. There could be but one object in doing so; the design of attacking the Illinois to obtain prisoners. De Tonty took means to warn the Illinois of their danger; the result, however, was a proof of the old saying, that it is not possible to help those who will not help themselves. The Iroquois had now determined on their policy, and were prepared to carry it out; the first step towards it was to get rid of the six Frenchmen. Evidently the Indians were hostile to them, and but for the fear of French retaliation would have killed them. A Council was now held by the Iroquois, and de Tonty was formerly invited to attend. Beaver skins were brought in. Some packets were assigned to him, and a message was given to be delivered to de Frontenac that they would not eat Illinois flesh, and eventually the French were requested to leave. De Tonty desired to be informed when the Iroquois themselves would depart, leaving the Illinois unattacked. Angry words ensued, when some of the younger Iroquois exclaimed that they would eat Illinois flesh, upon which de Tonty kicked the beaver skins away as if in contempt of the offer. It is the greatest insult which an Indian can receive. The Chiefs rose in passion. A tumult ensued, and De Tonty retired to his quarters. The French remained on the watch all night, determined to fight to the last, and not surrender their lives without a struggle. The Chiefs must have held another Council, for in the morning they peremptorily ordered the six Frenchmen to be gone.

The Iroquois now having possession of the *bourgade* completed the outrages, the result which de La Salle had looked upon. The Illinois retired down the river, camping at night. The Iroquois followed, hesitating to attack, and establishing

themselves on the opposite shore. Some of the Illinois descended the Mississippi. Some passed westward beyond the stream. Some established themselves at the junction of the rivers. It was the portion of the tribe which adopted this ill considered course whom the Iroquois attacked, and where de La Salle saw the traces of their butchery. Such of the number they did not kill, the Iroquois carried away as slaves, to the extent, it is said, of some hundreds.

De Tonty could not have done more. There are few brighter pages in the history of French Canada, than in his effort to ward off the Iroquois attack on the Illinois. De Tonty, the two Recollets Membré and de la Ribourde, de Boisrondet, and the two humbler men, never faltered in their duty. They deserve honourable mention for their endeavours, rejecting all thought of obtaining personal safety by the sacrifice of those with whom they had exchanged kindnesses, for the Illinois could not be called their allies. They went to the extreme limit of opposition. Further resistance would have cost them their lives. They, therefore, accepted the situation, and left the scene, as they were called upon to do.

They paddled up the stream, and as their canoe was leaking, after five leagues of progress, they stopped to repair it. Father de la Ribourde strolled away from the party. Whether he lost his way or was assaulted near the camp must be a matter of surmise. It is supposed that he was watched by a band of Kickapoos, killed and scalped. He never returned, nor was his body ever found.

At the junction of the rivers their canoe was abandoned. No trace was left of their route, and de Tonty struck upon a course to reach Lake Michigan. Proceeding along the shores of the lake they came to Green Bay to be received by the Pottowatamies. They suffered much hardship in their advance from want and exposure; but they were warmly welcomed at the Indian village.

The expedition which ascended the Mississippi has been identified with the name of Hennepin. This Recollet possesses a charm of style rare in its simplicity, and, in many

respects, recalls to the English reader the works of Defoe. Like the author of *Robinson Crusoe*, he has the power to present, with every semblance of fidelity as an eye-witness that which never took place. There is scarcely a sentence which he penned which is not coloured by his vanity, and it is a vanity which shrinks from no falsehood. His books have been translated into most European languages. For many years they obtained credence in a general way, with the qualification that they were coloured by the bright tint of the traveller's imagination. Modern criticism pronounces them to be without authority, to be marked by plagiarisms, by a disregard of facts, and by the appropriation of the labours of others, in so ridiculous a form that a consideration of the distances which he names as passed over by him in the time given, proves to have been impossible.

Seventeen years after the event, Hennepin laid claim to have descended the Mississippi to its mouth, and then to have ascended the river to Saint Anthony's Falls. That is to say, it took him from the eighth to the twenty-third of March to reach the Gulf of Mexico, and twelve days to return to the spot where he was seized by the Sioux ; the former distance being fourteen hundred, the latter nineteen hundred miles. In his first published book of 1683, he had expressly stated that he had desired to make this journey, but had been unable.* To read Hennepin without knowledge and reflection, his narrative appears to record the most natural events ; and at this time de La Salle was dead.

It cannot be supposed that Hennepin was the leader of the expedition. Accault and Auguelle, men above the ordinary rank, have been described.† They had a good stock of merchandise with them, and the object primarily was that of trade, and to gather information. They were detained some

* "Nous avions quelque dessein de nous rendre jusques à l'embouchure du Fleuve Colbert qui probablement se decharge plutost dans le sein de Mexique que dans la Mer Vermeille mais ces nations qui se saisirent de nous ne nous donnèrent pas le temps de naviguer haut et bas de ce Fleuve." Ed. 1683, p. 218.

† Anti page 469.

days at the mouth of the Illinois by the descending ice. On the 8th of March they proceeded leisurely to ascend the Mississippi.

Some wonder has been expressed that de La Salle had generally two or more Recollets attached to him in his enterprises. The answer may be found in the explanation, that he considered the presence of a priest a protection. It conferred a national and official character on any expedition, and was in itself a guarantee that those composing it were not *courreurs de bois*, but authorized agents of the State. To use a modern phrase, their presence made any undertaking respectable.

Hennepin, in his narrative of 1683, describes himself as the chief and head. His book tells us of his adventures with the Sioux. It is written with his usual charm of style, with an artistic simplicity, evincing keen powers of observation, so that the reader, ignorant of the history of those days unconsciously accepts his narrative without a doubt. Throughout he represents himself in danger, dreading to be burnt, with death constantly before him, serene, fertile in resource, extricating himself from difficulty. The very title of his book sets up his claim to consideration.*

They had gone about one hundred leagues northward, supposed to be about the mouth of the River Des Moines ; they had landed to repair their canoe and cook a wild turkey, when from thirty to fifty canoes, containing one hundred and twenty warriors of the Sioux came upon them. The party did their best to appease the Indians with gifts and submission. It was a war party proceeding to attack the Miamis. Hennepin managed to make them understand by signs and by drawings on the sand, that the Miamis had crossed the Mississippi. The Sioux accordingly returned, carrying with

* "Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays Situé dans l'Amerique Par R. P. Louis de Hennepin. A Amsterdam. Chez Abraham van Someren, 1698. Nouvelle Decouverte d'un tres grand Pays Situé dans l'Amerique entre Le Nouveau Mexique, et La Mer Glaciale....Le tout dedie à Sa Majesté Britan-nique Guillaume III....etc."

them the three Frenchmen as prisoners, and plundering their canoe. They passed through Lake Pepin, and landed at a spot below the Falls of Saint Anthony, and travelled several leagues across the country to the Sioux village, which must have been to the south of what is known on modern maps as Mille Lacs.

Hennepin, for his two companions are only mentioned in his narrative in a subordinate manner, reported that some French were expected at the mouth of the River Wisconsin for the purposes of trade. He and another were permitted to leave, which would scarcely have been the case had they been held as prisoners. They came down Rum River, which has its discharge above the Falls of Saint Anthony; a fact which explains the Sioux leaving their canoes to the south of the Falls in their way homeward. The two Frenchmen encamped on the opposite shore of the Mississippi. Hennepin was the first European to record the existence of these Falls, which he named after Saint Anthony of Padua.

Hennepin was accompanied by the Picard. They suffered from want of food, still they proceeded southward, catching fish, and living on what they could shoot; often sorry fare. One evening they were surprised by the appearance of the Sioux, who they thought were some leagues to the north of them. A hunting party was formed, and Hennepin accompanied the Sioux up the Chippeway River, which discharges into Lake Pepin. The hunt proved successful and they were proceeding homewards when they were met by Du Luth and two Frenchmen.

Daniel Greysolon du Luth was one of the singular characters which French Canada then produced; at home in the best society, as in Indian life for he possessed most of the resources of the savage. It was he who built the fort at the entrance of the Kamanistiquia, Lake Superior, known under Hudson Bay rule as Fort William. He was born at St. Germain-en-Laye. He describes himself as having been at the battle of Seneff as a gendarme of His Majesty's guard, and *écuyer* of the Marquis de Lassay. Hennepin claimed also to

have been present at this battle, so the meeting of the two on the banks of the Mississippi with this experience is certainly a strange incident. He was particularly denounced by Duchesneau * as ready to divert trade to the English, and he is especially named as connected with de Frontenac, who was stated to have participated in the profits of his operations. He certainly acted as a political agent. In a letter † to the Marquis de Seignelay, he speaks of his own career, and he describes this meeting with Hennepin. He tells us, that on the 1st of September, 1678, he left Montreal with seven Frenchmen, and that on the 2nd of July, 1679, he was at the Sioux village of Izatys, where no Frenchman had been before. In September, he had a rendezvous with the Northern Indians at the upper end of Lake Superior. He proposed that they should settle their differences, and intermarry, and make peace with the Sioux. He had been engaged in persuading them to resume their relations with Montreal, which had been interrupted, for, owing to the English and Dutch having described the French trading ports at Lake Nipissing to be suffering from the plague, few canoes had proceeded thither. From his statement, it is to be inferred that it was not his first visit to the Mississippi, for he determined to make the journey by water, as he had already done so by land. Accordingly, he entered a river which empties itself eight leagues from the extremity of Lake Superior. He had to break down one hundred beaver dams, and cut some trees, when he reached the portage which in half a league brought him to the tributary by which he had descended to the Mississippi. He there heard that Hennepin, and two other Frenchmen, were prisoners. Taking two men and an Indian, he rapidly descended the river, and found Hennepin eighty leagues distant, which would place the meeting about the mouth of the Saint Croix.‡ Du Luth

* 10th November, 1679.

† Harrisson, p. 177, taken from the Archives of the Ministère de Marine.

‡ Hennepin, in his Edition of 1683, gives two hundred and twenty leagues, which would place the meeting below the Illinois; in that of 1697, he gives the distance at one hundred and twenty leagues, which would be at the Wisconsin.

describes him as being with one thousand or eleven hundred Sioux. A Council was held, in which Du Luth reproached the Sioux for treating the three Frenchmen as slaves, and to better their position declared that Hennepin was his brother. They all proceeded to the village of the Sioux, where they remained some months.

Hennepin's statement is, that Du Luth begged him to return to the Sioux village on account of his knowledge of the language, and that he had been of great use in acting as interpreter. Moreover, he felt that it was his duty to do so, as he had heard that for the past two years Du Luth had not received the Sacraments. They were treated by the Sioux with all consideration. Finally, with the consent of the Indians they took their departure to join their countrymen. Throughout their movements they had been subjected to little control. They descended the Mississippi to the Wisconsin, which they ascended to reach the Green Bay mission. Thence they proceeded to Michillimackinac, where they passed the winter. In the spring, Hennepin made his way to Fort Frontenac and thence to Montreal.

De La Salle remained during the winter of 1680-1681 at Fort Miami, on the Saint Joseph. During this period, he endeavoured to conciliate the Indians who had established themselves in the neighbourhood of the fort to attach them to his interest. They were of the tribes who in the late war had been driven from the settlements of New England. There were some Miamis and Illinois whom he attached to his interest, by offering to aid them in case of any future attack. In May he returned to Fort Frontenac. As he passed by Michillimackinac he was cheered by the sight of de Tonty and Father Membré. He heard the history of the desertion of his men, and their own narrow escape from the dangerous position in which they had been placed. Disappointment and failure, however felt by de La Salle, never retarded his plans. Whatever his feelings, they were concealed from others, and he adhered steadily to his purpose.

He again obtained at Montreal the funds which he required

for his enterprise, and in the autumn was again at Fort Miami. He now commenced his operations to descend the Illinois to the Mississippi, and thence to the ocean. His organised force consisted of twenty-three Frenchmen and Canadians and eighteen Abenaki and Mohegan Indians. The latter would not leave without their women to work for them, so the party included ten women and three children. De La Salle had now abandoned the idea of constructing a vessel, and had determined to make the exploration in canoes. The whole party included fifty-four souls.

De Tonty and Father Membré, with the Indians, left in six canoes on the 21st of December, 1681. They crossed to Chicago Creek. De La Salle followed later with the rest of the party. As the rivers were frozen, sleighs were made, on which the goods and provisions were placed. They ascended Chicago Creek, crossed over the portage to the northern branch of the Illinois, the River des Plaines, and followed that river down to the main stream. Below Peoria they found open water, so they launched their canoes, and came to the Mississippi on the 6th of February. They remained at the junction of the rivers some days. There was floating ice coming down the great river and there were stragglers to arrive. At length all were gathered together and the descent commenced. On the 24th of February, near the Third Chickasaw Bluffs, they stopped to hunt, to obtain food so that they could smoke and dry what meat they might obtain; and while they were here, one of the party was missed. They constructed a fort to protect themselves from attack, and delayed their journey in the hope he would rejoin, while parties ranged the woods in search of him. Independently of the man's safety, it was advisable to learn if possible his fate, for, if murdered, it would establish the hostility of the Indians. Fortunately, he was found and brought home half dead. As a memorial of the event, the fort was called by his name, Fort Prudhomme, and he was left in charge of it with a few men.

As they descended there was a sensible change in the temperature. There was marked indication of spring, and

every league onward, brought on all sides evidence of a difference of climate, while the growth of the forest suggested a difference of soil. They continued their route to the River Arkansas, and were received hospitably by the Indians. At the reception, de La Salle took possession of the country in the name of the French King. The Indians looked admiringly on the ceremonies appropriating their territory. The chaunts, the procession, the cheers, were to them a show which pleased and amused them; moreover it was one which they did not understand.

About one hundred and twenty leagues further they reached the country of the Tansas, with their large buildings of sun dried bricks, and roofs of cane. The Tansas had an imperfect claim to civilization, but, worshipped the sun, offering human sacrifices, while their walls were adorned with the skulls of their enemies. There was an instrument on which the hair of those slain was braided. A fire was constantly burning on a raised dais, with watchers to keep up an undying flame. There was a certain state observed by the aged chief in his reception of de La Salle; and gifts were received and returned. They passed onwards to the Natchez, of the same habits and faith, and were equally well received.

There was one discouraging spectacle which met their eyes. They came to a cluster of Indian lodges, which must have been not far from the site of New Orleans. All was quiet and undisturbed. They entered the lodges. They found some of them filled with corpses, the result of an attack upon the village a few days previously.

They were approaching the river's mouth. They reached the spot where the stream is divided into three channels. De Tonty passed through the middle channel, d'Autray, that on the east, while de La Salle followed that on the west. They met on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico, with the ocean before them.

The problem was again solved, for the third time, the European had established that the discharge of the Mississippi was into the Gulf of Mexico. It was now to remain a

fixed fact, not to pass out of mind, or to be ignored by writers of history. It was to prove the commencement of settlement. De La Salle took possession of the country and of all the tributary waters of the great stream in the name of the King of France. On the 9th of April, 1682, a column was raised to "*Louis le Grand*." The hymn of the *Vexilla Regis* was chaunted. All the ceremonies incident to the occasion were observed. It was the foundation of Louisiana.

Here the historian must ask, why if de La Salle discovered the Ohio in 1669, knowing that the waters which lay before him were tributary to the Mississippi, the same ceremonies were not then observed?

END OF VOLUME I.

THE EARLY SPANISH EXPEDITIONS TO THE MISSISSIPPI.

I have used the word "expedition" of de La Salle, for I conceive that his descent of the Mississippi can in no way be called a discovery. The mouths of the river, with several hundred miles of the stream, had been known for nearly a century and a half previous to the expedition of Jolliet. The absence of knowledge of this fact appears remarkable to the student of that period. The voyage of de La Salle must have drawn attention to it, for Le Clercq * briefly alludes to these previous expeditions, and speaks of their failure of result in comparison with that of de La Salle. Had they been remembered when the problem of the outlet of the Mississippi was being discussed, there would have been little difficulty in its theoretical solution. The discharge of the great river known to have its northern sources south of Lake Superior, but to which imagination assigned an outlet into the Pacific, would have been clearly identified with the waters which had been visited by the earlier Spanish adventurers, and its course traced to the Gulf of Mexico.

The knowledge of the Mississippi was one of the consequences of the expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro. Nuñez de Balboa traced his way across the Isthmus of Panama. More northerly, the country which extended from the Gulf of Mexico attracted attention. It was known by the name of Florida, and was reputed to be of fabulous wealth. As early as 1521, Juan Ponce de Leon attempted to plant a colony on its shores. The Spaniards were attacked vigorously by the Indians; de Leon was wounded, and a retreat was made to Cuba, where de Leon died. It was followed in 1528 by another expedition under Pamphilo de Narvaez. It consisted of three hundred men, who landed at Tampa Bay. After wandering about the country in search of the reported wealth, what remained of those composing the expedition, finally reached Appalachia Bay. They had suffered great hardship from hunger, privation, fever, and exposure. Many died, among them the leader, Narvaez. They put to sea in what boats they could obtain, and the record is that only four of the body succeeded in reaching the Spanish settlements.

One of those present with Narvaez was Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, who lived for some years among the tribes of the Mississippi. Finally, he crossed the river at Memphis, nine hundred miles above its mouth, and ascended the Arkansas, or the Red River, to Chihuahua, in New Mexico, and at last reached the Gulf of Mexico, whence he made his way to Mexico. He had not, it is true, descended to the mouth of the river, but there could be no other conclusion than that the river which he had crossed discharged into that Gulf.

The more celebrated expedition of which Hernando de Soto was the leader, followed. De Soto had been the companion of Pizarro in Peru, and had taken a part in the conquest and plunder of the country. From being a soldier of fortune he returned to Spain with great wealth. Believing that the El Dorado was to be found in Florida, he obtained permission to organize an expedition and to undertake the conquest of the country. The most favourable reports had been spread of its riches. There was a prevailing belief that the gold to be obtained there

* Etablissement de la Foy, 1691, Vol. II., p. 269.

was immense. Exaggerated statements had been made by Cabeça de Vaca, and he is credited with having, for purposes of his own, created expectation by his false representations of the country. Popular sentiment was thus awakened and men of all ranks pressed forward to join in the venture.

In every form well equipped, composed of men of rank as its leaders, with ecclesiastics, with horses, provided with all the appliances, indeed with the pomp of war the expedition landed in Tampa Bay, on the West Coast of Florida, in 1539. These adventurers wandered through Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, in search of the fabulous wealth which was to reward their labours. Their sufferings were great, accompanied by privation, by attack of the Indians, at the same time encumbered with baggage ; nevertheless they were still sustained by the hope that they would find the object of their search. It seems hardly possible to believe that these arduous efforts were continued with occasional halts during three years. In 1541, they reached the Mississippi, and crossed the river not far from the mouth of the Arkansas, about seven hundred miles from the Gulf of Mexico. Still they continued onward with the same roving spirit, the same visionary hope, with unabated courage and unlessered disappointment.

They must have gone far to the west, for it was months before they turned eastwardly. Ill-health had followed the privations they had suffered. Many had died. Those who remained were weak, and were now scarcely sustained even by hope. Their experience was continued disappointment and failure. They retraced their steps to reach the Mississippi in 1542. Broken in mind and body, de Soto at last succumbed to the privations and trials which he had undergone, and his corpse was weighted and sunk in the waters of the Mississippi to prevent it being disinterred and outraged by the Indians.

An attempt was now made by those who remained to reach Mexico by land ; the advance was found to be too painful. So they constructed seven small vessels and descended the river. But the Spaniards had yet to pay a further penalty for their attempt. During the descent, they were fiercely attacked by the tribes on the river bank. They lost eleven men. Finally they reached the Gulf of Mexico, and made sail for the Spanish settlement on the River Panuco.

Of the six hundred and twenty who originally composed the expedition, only three hundred and eleven remained, and of this number there were but few whose constitutions had not been shattered by the privations to which they had been subjected.

With these facts on record, it is not possible with justice to assign to de La Salle the discovery of the mouths of the Mississippi. On the other hand, it may be conceded that the main features of the expedition of de Soto were unknown to or misunderstood by him ; so that his enterprise possesses all the features which would mark the labours of an original explorer. Nevertheless, while this merit is conceded to de La Salle, the fact remains, that he was not the first European who descended the waters of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico.



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